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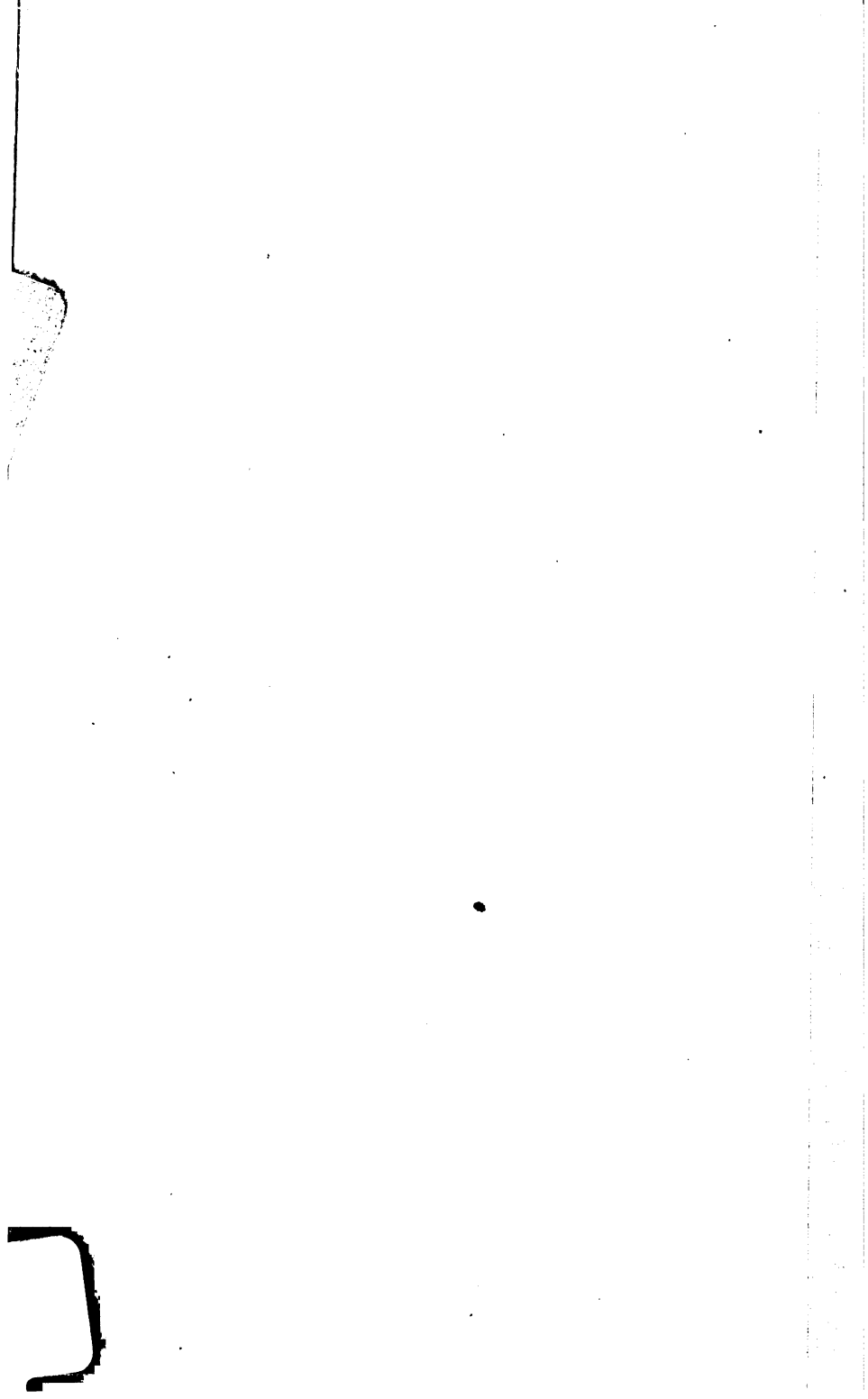
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R. J. Archibald

MEMOIRS

CHIEFLY ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE

HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

COUNTY AND CITY OF OXFORD,

COMMUNICATED TO THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,

HELD AT OXFORD, JUNE, 1850.

WITH A REPORT OF THE GENERAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE MEETING.

THE
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1854.

The CENTRAL COMMITTEE of the ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE desire that it should be understood that they are not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in the Publications of the Institute, the authors of the several Memoirs being alone answerable for the same.

XROY WAM
31.10.19
YSA.10.11

THE Central Committee of the Archæological Institute, in producing the following selection from Memoirs communicated to the various sections, at the Oxford Meeting in 1850, feel it requisite to observe, that this volume will be found to comprise those subjects only which have already been brought before the Society in the Archæological Journal.

Circumstances, which they have been unable to control, having rendered the proposed arrangements for the publication of a distinct "Oxford Volume" impracticable, the Committee, in adopting the alternative of transferring to the Journal the Memoirs originally destined to appear in another form, have thought it advisable to cause, from time to time, a limited number of copies of these communications to be printed separately. The volume, in which these Memoirs are now combined, will doubtless prove acceptable to persons desirous to possess some memorial of the Meeting in the University of Oxford, in which they may have taken part, and who, not being members of the Institute, have not received the quarterly Journal. The Committee has moreover desired, by this separate publication, to gratify the wish of many members of the Institute, and to preserve without interruption, so far as circumstances permitted, the regular series of distinct memorials of the Annual Meetings.

APARTMENTS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,

26, SUFFOLK STREET, PALL MALL, May, 1854.

May. 8. 1913.

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† The Institute is indebted to the kindness of their lamented friend and coadjutor, the late Principal of Brasenose, for several of the Illustrations which accompany his Memoir.

‡ This Map has been kindly presented by the Master of Caius College.

§ The Institute is indebted to Mr. Maclauchlan's kindness for this, the first accurate survey of the important remains at Silchester, prepared specially for the Oxford Meeting, and presented by him to the Society for the gratification of the visitors of that remarkable Roman site, on this occasion.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING.

HELD AT OXFORD, JUNE 18TH TO 25TH, 1850.

THE University and city of Oxford having been selected as the scene of the Annual Assembly of the Institute, with the patronage of the Rev. the Vice-Chancellor, it appeared desirable that the proceedings should commence immediately after the festivities of the commemoration. The inaugural meeting took place in the Sheldonian Theatre, on Tuesday, June 18. Shortly after twelve, the MARQUIS of NORTHAMPTON, President Elect, entered the Theatre, accompanied by the Vice-Chancellor and other distinguished members of the Society.

The Provost of Oriel announced to the Assembly that he had that morning received from the President, the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, who had promised to become his guest during the meeting, the intimation that it had proved impracticable for him to quit home on the present occasion ; with the assurance of his regret to be unable, through causes of domestic anxiety, to keep his engagement and formally resign the Presidential chair to his noble successor.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR, Patron of the meeting, then rose and observed, that the duty appeared to devolve upon himself to present to them their new President. In inviting the Noble Marquis to take the Chair, he felt no ordinary gratification, having witnessed the proceedings of the Society under his auspices, at the meeting in Winchester ; he was assured that many now present would share with himself the grateful remembrance of the ability and kind consideration with which the Marquis of Northampton had conducted the proceedings on that occasion. He adverted to the distinguished part which that Nobleman had so ably sustained as President of another and very influential Society. The Vice-Chancellor observed that he desired to take this occasion to offer to the Institute the assurance of cordial welcome in the University, as also of his high sense of the importance of such societies and such meetings, as that now addressed by him, in encouraging an increased esteem for the memorials and monuments of the past, and in cherishing the desire for their preservation.

The MARQUIS of NORTHAMPTON took the Chair : he expressed his thanks for the kindness and the warm reception with which he had been repeatedly welcomed on such occasions, twice also previously in Oxford. He must hail such a welcome with especial gratification, as shown by the members of that ancient University towards the son of another Alma Mater ; and as a striking assurance of that friendliness and unanimity of purpose between the two Universities, so essential to the welfare of both. It would

be an idle intrusion to advance any argument in favour of the claims of antiquarian studies, in an University which had been for centuries devoted to kindred pursuits. He rejoiced to feel assured that the Institute had become so established in the good opinion of the antiquaries of their country, that it were needless to speak in commendation of the purpose for which the Society had been instituted, or the results which had attended its proceedings. He must heartily regret the unavoidable absence of his predecessor in office ; his address on a similar occasion, at their last annual meeting, would long be remembered. He had then set before them all those bright examples and eminent persons that Wiltshire had produced. Were he, his successor, to follow that precedent, it would be no easy duty to testify respect and show due honour to the memory of those, whose learning and piety had been cherished amidst the scenes by which the Society now assembled in that ancient city was surrounded.

THE VICE-CHANCELLOR proposed a vote of thanks to the President of the previous year, whose cordial welcome had given to their meeting at Salisbury a charm which the Institute must long recall with grateful remembrance. The motion, seconded by ANDREW LAWSON, Esq., was carried by acclamation.

THE PRESIDENT then called upon Mr. CHARLES NEWTON to deliver his address on the Study of Archaeology. (Printed in this volume, page 1.) At the termination of a discourse which was received with great interest and gratification, the Rev. VAUGHAN THOMAS expressed the satisfaction which he felt in bearing his testimony to the pleasure he had derived from the able disquisition delivered by Mr. Newton ;—from the powerful arguments and lucid arrangement with which he had treated so important and extensive a subject. To some it might be matter of surprise, that so wide a range was comprised within the scope of archaeology : wide however as it is, without attempting to contract the limits of that ample range, he would suggest that they should not confine themselves to the consideration of its comprehensiveness. In his view the great end and express purpose of archaeology consisted in minute investigation and inquiry ; it was the duty of the archaeologist to verify facts moral or material ; to elicit evidence serving to enlighten the obscurity of past history, and serve as a guide in present emergency. Archaeology seemed to take its place with minute philosophical inquiries ; as the agriculturist recognised his obligation to chemistry, the physician to minute anatomy, the miner to the detailed inquiries of the geologist, thus also the historian must admit his obligation to that careful discrimination of facts which properly fell within the province of archaeology. It was the exposition of the importance of such facts, and the elucidation of the nature and value of the several sources of archaeological evidence, which gave to Mr. Newton's address so essential an interest ; and he begged to move the cordial thanks of the Assembly to that gentleman on this occasion.

Mr. HALLAM rose to second this vote to Mr. Newton. The historian, he observed, must heartily admit the importance and value of archaeological investigation, without which his productions were little superior to those of the writer of romance. He could not refrain from expressing his admiration of the profound and luminous views which pervaded the discourse they had heard. It was a masterly sketch ; and, as in an outline by the hand of a great master, they might distinctly see that the power was not deficient to fill up and carry out the design. He felt great pleasure in expressing

the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Newton, having known him for several years in connection with that vast National depository, not less remarkable for the treasures it contains than for the intelligence, zeal and courtesy of its officers. No slight commendation was due to Mr. Newton, who had so well employed the advantages which his position at the British Museum had afforded. He would only add the expression of his sincere hope that the proceedings of the meeting, so auspiciously commenced, might be of a character not less gratifying than on previous occasions; and prove such as might do honour both to the Institute and to the great University which had hailed them with so cordial and generous a welcome.

The PRESIDENT, having put the motion, assured Mr. Newton that he felt it a most agreeable duty to convey to him the unanimous thanks of the audience for his admirable address; and he would express the hope that he might long continue to render valuable service to Archaeology, both in his co-operation with the Institute, and his zealous exertions at the British Museum.

The Meeting then adjourned; and ample occupation for the remainder of the day was afforded by the numerous objects accessible to visitors, with the attractions of the Museum, now opened at the Taylor Buildings, by the kind permission of the Curators. To this also was added the collection of drawings, plans, fac-similes of brasses, &c., with the series of designs representing, on the same scale as the originals, the remarkable tessellated pavements discovered at Cirencester since the previous meeting of the Institute. These valuable drawings, the fruits of the assiduity and skill of Mr. Cox, of that town, were kindly contributed by Professor Buckman and Mr. Newmarch, and they formed a very attractive feature of the series which was displayed in the Divinity School.

The evening meeting was held at the Town Hall, by the permission of the Mayor and Corporation, and it was numerously attended. The Principal of Brasenose, the Rev. Dr. HARRINGTON, read a memoir on the history and architecture of St. Mary's Church. (Printed in this volume, page 27.)

After some observations by Mr. Freeman, a cordial vote of thanks to Dr. Harrington was passed unanimously, and the company withdrew to a conversazione in the Council Chamber.

On Wednesday, June 19th, the Meetings of Sections commenced simultaneously at ten o'clock. The Historical Section assembled in the Convocation House, Mr. HALLAM, (President of the Section,) in the chair. The following communications were read;—

Memoir on the site of the memorable battle of Ashdown, the *Æscesdune* of the Saxon Chronicle, between Ethelred, supported by Alfred his brother, and the Danes, who were signally defeated, A.D. 871. Communicated by W. NELSON CLARKE, Esq., D.C.L., and read by the Rev. H. O. COXE.

Remarks on the Rent-Roll of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, (26th and 27th Hen. VI.,) with notices of that nobleman and other members of the house of Stafford. By JAMES HEYWOOD MARKLAND, Esq., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (Printed in this volume, page 60).

The Rev. CHARLES HARTSHORNE read a memoir on the Castle and the "Provisions" of Oxford, exacted by the Barons from Henry III. in 1258. (Printed in this volume, page 135).

WILLIAM SIDNEY GIBSON, Esq., read a Memoir on Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, Lord Chancellor in the time of Edward III. He was a

zealous collector of books, and bequeathed his valuable library to Durham College, in Oxford.

EDWIN GUEST, Esq., delivered a discourse on the Earthworks which formed the boundaries of the Belgic settlements in Britain, and on those made after the treaty of Mons Badonicus. (Printed in this volume, page 45.) His interesting observations were in continuation of his Memoir brought before the Institute at the Salisbury Meeting, and printed in the Volume of Transactions on that occasion, page 28.

The Architectural Section met, by the permission of the Architectural Society, in their meeting-room in Holywell. The chair was taken by Dr. HARRINGTON, President of the Section.

A paper was read by E. A. FREEMAN, Esq., on "The Architecture of Dorchester Abbey Church." (Printed in this volume, page 229.)

The Rev. JAMES CLUTTERBUCK read a Memoir on the antiquity and construction of certain timber houses existing near Long Wittenham, in Berkshire. He supposed that they are of the fourteenth century. They are locally called "sile-houses," possibly from their being built as it were on a sill, that is, on long beams forming the ground-work of the building. They resemble roofs placed on the ground, and in the centre of each is a chimney stack.

ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq., communicated a detailed account of the Manor-House and "Fish-House," at Meare, Somersetshire, a curious example of domestic architecture. It was erected by the Abbot of Glastonbury in the fourteenth century. The paper was illustrated by several excellent drawings, representing the details of these structures and of the Church of Meare. (Printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. x. p. 130.)

The Section of Early and Medieval Antiquities met in the Writing-school,—W. W. WYNNE, Esq. (President of the Cambrian Archaeological Association) presiding.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq., read an account of a remarkable collection of gold ornaments, recently purchased from the cabinet of Mr. Brumell by the Trustees of the British Museum. (Printed in this volume, page 121.) Mr. Hawkins laid before the Meeting faithful representations of these singular relics, drawn for the occasion by Mr. Fairholt.

GEORGE DU NOYER, Esq., of Dublin, communicated a paper on the classification of bronze arrow-heads (printed in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii., p. 281), being a sequel to his memoirs on the classification of bronze celts, read at the Norwich Meeting. (*Archaeological Journal*, vol. iv., pp. 1, 327.)

A curious unpublished account was then read, written by the late Dr. Nott, and communicated to the President of Corpus Christi College, being a relation of the opening of the tomb of Bishop Fox, founder of that College. His remains were accidentally brought to light in Winchester Cathedral, Jan. 28, 1820.

The Rev. HENRY O. COXE gave an interesting notice of a Book of Prayers, once the property of Jane Wriothesley, Countess of Southampton, and now preserved in the Bodleian. It contains the autographs of distinguished personages, her friends,—Margaret Dowglas, granddaughter of Henry VII., Mary, Queen of England (when Princess), Katherine Parr, and other persons memorable in the history of the period.

In the afternoon, amongst various attractions, by the liberal permission

of the several Colleges, the various objects of interest, especially the plate and reliques connected with their founders, were displayed in the College Halls for the gratification of visitors. The salt-cellar of Archbishop Chichele, the founder's jewels and ancient plate at All Souls ; the salt-cellars, spoons, and cups of Bishop Fox, at Corpus, with the gold chalice, paten, and chargers, and especially the remarkable enamelled crosier of that prelate, preserved in the chapel, excited great admiration. At Queen's College, a fine drinking vessel mounted with gold, with various rich specimens of plate, and a silver horn, used for calling the members of the College together, were displayed ; numerous visitors were also attracted to the Library, and to the collections presented by the late Mr. Mason. At Baliol College, the Treasury was opened to a small party, who enjoyed an unusual gratification in examining the charters and remarkable series of impressions of rare seals, preserved in that depository.

At six o'clock the public dinner took place at the Town Hall, the Noble PRESIDENT in the chair. About 350 ladies and gentlemen were present. A few toasts were proposed according to usual custom, and they were responded to by the Vice-Chancellor, the President, the Worshipful the Mayor, Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., the Principal of Brasenose, the Warden of New College, the Rector of Exeter, Mr. Hallam, and the Rev. Edward Hill. The healths of two distinguished visitors, Professor Waagen and M. Passavant, were also proposed, and received with much enthusiasm.

The company proceeded at an early hour to Exeter College, to enjoy the hospitalities to which they had been most generously invited by the REV. WILLIAM SEWELL, as the President of the Oxford Architectural Society. Nearly 700 persons shared in the entertainment there prepared with singular taste. The college gardens were illuminated, the hall was adorned with unique effect for their reception ; melodious sounds filled the crowded quadrangle, and nothing was forgotten, which might tend to enhance the gratification of the numerous visitors, or evince the cordiality of the welcome with which the Institute was honoured on this occasion.

On Thursday, June 20, at nine o'clock, a numerous party set forth on an excursion to Ewelme and Dorchester, under the direction of the Rev. Edward Hill, whose arrangements had ensured their gratification and convenience. They reached Ewelme, the more remote object of the day, about eleven, and were there received by the Rector, the Rev. Dr. Jacobson, Regius Professor of Divinity, who attended them to the church, the hospital, known by its original name of " God's House," its curious cloisters, and the endowed school. Mr. J. H. Parker directed their attention to the peculiar features of these buildings, erected about 1440, by the Duchess of Suffolk, widow of Reginald de la Pole, and daughter of Sir Thomas Chaucer. He pointed out the curious details of moulded brickwork, the richly carved timber-work, the interesting tombs, also, of the foundress and Sir Thomas Chaucer. The Mastership of the Hospital is now attached to the Regius Professorship of Medicine, and the Rectory to that of Divinity. Dr. Jacobson invited his visitors, with a very hospitable welcome, to repair to the Rectory garden, where a collation had been prepared for them under the shade of a spreading acacia. On their return towards Dorchester, a few archaeologists repaired to the " Dyke Hills," where an excavation had been made, by the permission of Mr. Latham, the proprietor, and some Roman pottery with other ancient relics, disinterred.

At Dorchester, the Members were received by the Vicar. Mr. Freeman delivered his discourse on the church, and guided the visitors to the various points of interest. He showed that the original structure was of the Transitional Norman period (about 1180), and was nearly of the same extent as the existing fabric; but it was almost wholly rebuilt about a century later, and an eastern bay or presbytery added about 1360. A discussion ensued, in which Sir Charles Anderson, Mr. Petit, Mr. Penrose, Mr. Parker, and other members evinced the interest excited by the visit of the Society to this fine architectural monument. The Rev. John Barrow, of Queen's College, offered some interesting remarks on the sepulchral effigies, brasses, painted glass, the "Jesse window," and other curious details. The restoration of the fabric had been partially carried out; and contributions were offered by some of the visitors in aid of this work, for which funds have been insufficiently supplied. Some of the party visited the Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Birinus, recently erected, and examined the ancient painted glass, stated to have been removed from Dorchester Abbey. They inspected also a curious chasuble, with a rich orfray (attributed to the early part of the fourteenth century), the property of Mr. Davy, a farmer, by whose family it had been preserved since the Reformation.

The members then proceeded to visit the Carfax Conduit, removed in 1787 by the Earl of Harcourt, and preserved in the park at Nuneham. They examined the allegorical figures with which it is ornamented, and of which a contemporary description had lately been discovered. Some of the party stopped at Sandford, to examine the architectural features of the church, and a remarkable relic of ancient sculpture representing the Assumption of the Virgin.

In the evening the Society re-assembled at the Town Hall, Sir Charles Anderson, Bart. in the chair, when a communication was made from DANIEL WILSON, Esq., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, in reference to the law of "Treasure Trove," and the prejudicial hindrance to archaeological science by the operation of that feudal right. He stated that strenuous endeavours had been made in Scotland to call attention to the injurious results of the existing law, and he forwarded a circular issued by the officers of the Crown, showing that they are desirous of affording every facility in their power to promote archaeological research, and to carry out the existing law in the most liberal spirit. Amongst Scottish antiquaries a general desire subsists to see the Danish law adopted as a model. In Denmark, by recent modification of the law, the finder receives from the Crown the full value, or even in some cases more than the value, of precious objects discovered. But the State exacts that all such antiquities (of the precious metals) shall be given up to be preserved in the Public Museums, under certain penalties in case of concealment. The owner of the soil receives the value only in cases when the discovery has been made by researches under his directions. The finder receives payment without delay, a regulation which has proved most efficacious, and scarcely any relics of gold or silver have for many years, as it is stated, been lost to the National Museum. Mr. Wilson advocated warmly the beneficial results which a similar system would ensure in our own country, although, at first view, it might appear arbitrary and injurious to the rights of the lord of the soil; and he pointed out the evils which had arisen from the deficiency of a liberal spirit in the promotion of public collections, whilst in private hands

many precious relics, links in the archaeological series, are lost to science, and are rarely to be traced after the lifetime of the finders.

A warm discussion ensued in reference to this important question, and great diversity of opinion prevailed. It was finally agreed that the further consideration of the arguments so forcibly advanced by Mr. Wilson should be recommended to the Committee of the Institute.

The proceedings of the day closed with a discourse, delivered by Mr. CHARLES WINSTON, on the art of glass painting, and on some of the valuable specimens of ancient glass existing at Oxford (printed in this volume, page 191).

On Friday, June 21st, the Sections resumed their meetings at an early hour.

In the Historical Section a memoir was read by MR. JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, F.S.A., on the descent of the Earldom of Oxford (printed in this volume, p. 178).

SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS, Bart., communicated notices of Walter Map, Archdeacon of Oxford, with some interesting observations in relation to two other Oxfordshire writers, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Alexander de Swerford (printed in this volume, p. 91).

THE REV. VAUGHAN THOMAS, B.D., contributed Memorials of Sir Robert Dudley, son of the Earl of Leicester.

A communication was received from the Rev. LAMBERT LARKING, L.L.B., comprising a curious selection of documentary evidence relating to the disputed claim of Jurisdiction, between the University and the City of Oxford; transcribed by him from the Surrenden collections.

A memoir on the History of Exeter Castle, by the REV. GEORGE OLIVER, D.D., was read. It has been printed in the *Journal*, vol. vii. p. 128.

In the Architectural Section, JOHN BRITTON, Esq., F.S.A., communicated biographical notices of John Carter, and displayed a very interesting series of his valuable architectural drawings, comprising the collection illustrative of Wells Cathedral, executed by him for the Society of Antiquaries of London, and entrusted to Mr. Britton by the permission of the council for exhibition on this occasion.

THE REV. JOHN LOUIS PETIT read a memoir on Sherborne Church, Dorset, illustrated by a display of his admirable drawings. This fine example of the Perpendicular style has recently undergone extensive restorations. This Memoir is given in the Bristol volume, p. 185.

The following communication, prepared for this section, was unavoidably deferred, the author being called from Oxford by urgent business.—Remarks on the Monumental Remains in the Cathedral Church of Oxford; by MATTHEW H. BLOXHAM, Esq. It has been printed in this volume, p. 221.

In the Section of Antiquities, the chair was taken by the President, W. W. WYNNE, Esq. A notice was given by H. W. ACLAND, Esq., M.D., of an outline traced upon stone, found on the quay at Utica near Carthage, representing a ship, and illustrating in an interesting manner certain expressions occurring in the account of St. Paul's voyage and shipwreck. He produced the stone, which was obtained through the American Consul.

EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., communicated some extracts illustrative of ancient manners and household expenses, in the sixteenth century; selected from the accounts of the executors of Thomas Fermor, Esq., of Somerton, Oxfordshire. (Printed in this volume, p. 83.)

MANUEL J. JOHNSON, Esq., Radcliffe Observer, read a dissertation on illuminated MSS., illustrated by examples from his own collection, and from other volumes preserved in the University.

The REV. JOHN BARON communicated a notice of a singular discovery of some earthen vessels, immured in the wall of a church in Oxfordshire, and supposed to have served in the preparation of the "oblys," or wafers for the mass.

HENRY MACLAUCHLAN, Esq., communicated a Memoir on the remains of the great Roman city of Silchester, with a detailed report of his survey of the site, and of the adjacent works, roads, and lines of entrenchment. (Printed in this volume, p. 101.) He had undertaken this work for the gratification of the members on the present occasion, and had prepared a plan specially for this meeting, being the first accurate representation of these remains, existing on the estates of the noble Chancellor of the university in which the Institute had assembled. The plan was laid before the meeting; and a special vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Maclauchlan for these valuable services.

PROFESSOR BUCKMAN, of Cirencester College, gave a dissertation on the substances employed in forming the *tesselæ* of the mosaic pavements discovered at Cirencester, and on their chromatic arrangement.

Some other communications were received—one by a learned foreign archaeologist, MR. P. MUNCH, on the correct reading of certain Runic inscriptions on churchyard crosses in the Isle of Man; another by the late DR. BROMET, F.S.A., on the remains of an ancient chariot of bronze, preserved in the Museum at Toulouse. (Printed in this volume, p. 131.)

At twelve o'clock a large assemblage congregated in the Theatre, and PROFESSOR WILLIS gave his lecture on the architectural history of Oxford Cathedral, originally the Church of the Priory of St. Frideswide. He commenced by referring to a MS. in the Bodleian, relating to the miracles of St. Frideswide, and recording the translation of her relics to the new work at the time when the Parliament was assembled at Oxford, in 1180. It also relates the miraculous vision said to have occurred eight years previously, when the light issuing from the relics of the saint was seen shining above the tower of the cathedral, proving that the tower was completed in 1172. He proceeded to show that the whole fabric is of that period, although of somewhat unusual design, and that the popular notion of its being partly a Saxon building, enlarged and raised by the Normans, is without foundation. He illustrated this by various proofs; the most conclusive of these was illustrated by opening an aperture in the roof of the aisle, showing that behind the two-light openings, supposed to have been the Saxon clerestory, there is a single arch inclosing the two, according to the usual arrangement of a Norman triforium. These openings, moreover, had never been glazed, nor even grooved to receive glass. The chapel on the north side of the choir, usually called the Lady Chapel, is of the early part of the thirteenth century, and it was probably that into which the relics of St. Frideswide were a second time translated, in 1289. The rich piece of stonework and wood-panelling, of the end of the fifteenth century, usually called the Shrine of St. Frideswide, Professor Willis believed not to have been a shrine, but the watching chamber by the side of the shrine. The beautiful chapel adjoining to this, commonly called the Latin Chapel, he considered to belong to the first years of the fourteenth century, too early to have been the work of Lady Montacute, who died in 1355, and whose

tomb is placed between this and the chapel before-mentioned. She founded a rich chantry in this church. The Chapter house he regarded as a very beautiful work of the first half of the fifteenth century; and he expressed his great regret at the present state of this portion of the structure, being divided into two chambers by a solid wall. He then proceeded to describe the alterations made by Wolsey, who intended to convert this church into the chapel of his new college, and to have built, also, a large cathedral church, which he actually commenced. The vaulting of the choir is an admirable specimen of the work of that period, and very ingeniously incorporated into the Norman work. Wolsey also shortened the nave by about one half its length,—the original West end extended as far as the outer wall of the Canons' houses in the great quadrangle.

The Professor's discourse was enthusiastically received. At its conclusion, the Principal of Brasenose (Dr. Harington) expressed the thanks of the meeting for this instructive dissertation, and their appreciation of Professor Willis's valuable services to the cause of Archaeology, adverting also with gratification to the value of his assistance in preparing the new edition of the "Glossary of Architecture." This vote of thanks was warmly seconded by the Noble President, as also by the Rev. W. Sewell, President of the Oxford Architectural Society. At two o'clock the audience attended the Professor in the Cathedral, when he pointed out the peculiarities which he had previously described. He was accompanied by about three hundred persons in this interesting demonstration.

At the Evening Meeting at the Town Hall a very instructive discourse was delivered by GIDEON H. MANTELL, Esq., LL.D., on the Remains of Man and Works of Art buried in Rocks and Strata, as illustrative of the connection between Archaeology and Geology. It was illustrated by various drawings and specimens. (Printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 327.)

JOHN THURNAM, Esq., M.D., then read a memoir on the results of recent investigations of tumuli in Yorkshire, known as "The Danes' Graves," excavated by the Yorkshire Antiquarian Club. The antiquities thus discovered have been deposited in the Museum at York.

On Saturday, June 22, a numerous party took their departure at ten o'clock, by special train, on an excursion to the ancient Roman city of Silchester, which the Society had been unable to visit during their meeting at Winchester in 1846. They alighted at a short distance from the Mortimer Station, and under the guidance of the Rev. Edward Hill, repaired to the site, easily attainable from that place. The numerous visitors were courteously received by MR. BARTON, the occupier of the farm, with whose obliging permission the expedition had been arranged. After a hospitable welcome at the Manor House and the inspection of numerous antiquities, coins, and vestiges of Roman times, collected by Mr. Barton, the party dispersed to examine the most striking features—the amphitheatre, gates, and lines of streets, to which their attention was directed by the Rev. W. GUNNER. They also examined the various earth-works existing in the neighbourhood.

Many of the visitors resorted to the church in which is preserved a curious tomb and effigy of a lady, probably the foundress of a chantry; they examined also the fine chancel screen, and some early monumental slabs, placed on the remains of the Roman wall now inclosing the churchyard. One of these has a head carved in a deep recess, resembling the slab at

Gilling. (Archaeological Journal, vol. v., p. 69.) The other has two heads over a cross flory.

The travellers reached Oxford shortly after four; and in the evening an agreeable *soirée* was given at the Botanic Gardens by the Professor of Botany, DR. DAUBENY.

The proceedings of Monday, June 24th, were of a mixed character; a considerable party proceeded to Uffington, whilst in Oxford, during the earlier part of the day, the Sectional proceedings were resumed, and the following papers were read:—

In the Historical Section, the REV. VAUGHAN THOMAS, B.D., communicated an account of the line of nightly march taken by Charles I., June 3, 1644, in his escape from Oxford, between the Parliamentary forces posted at Ensham and Woodstock. Of this memoir, subsequently printed privately by the Author, he has very kindly presented copies, to accompany this volume of the Transactions of the Oxford Meeting.

In the Architectural Section, three memoirs were read:—

Extracts from the Building Accounts of Wadham College, commencing in 1610; by the REV. JOHN GRIFFITHS, M.A.

Architectural Notices of Abingdon Abbey, its History and its existing remains; by MISS SPENLOVE, illustrated by drawings prepared by Mr. A. Palmer.

Historical Memoir on the late or debased Gothic buildings of Oxford; by MR. ORLANDO JEWITT. (Printed in this volume, page 164.)

Many persons devoted this day to expeditions to Blenheim, Nuneham, and other objects. The chief and most interesting excursion, however, was that arranged by special train from Didcot to Uffington, where the party were welcomed by MARTIN ATKINS, Esq., of Kingston Lisle, who accompanied them to the church, a fine structure of the thirteenth century, the chief peculiarities of which were explained and pointed out by Mr. PETT. They examined also the church of Woolstone and its curious leaden font; the earth-work, called Hardwell Camp, occupied, as tradition affirms, by Ethelred before the battle of Ashdown; Wayland Smith's Cave, and the extensive works of Uffington Castle. The interest of their visit to these remarkable sites was much enhanced by the observations offered by the REV. JOHN WILSON (now President of Trinity College), who pointed out the surrounding objects of this locality, rich in historical associations; he explained the peculiar construction of the works at Uffington, from which may be viewed the scene of the battle of Ashdown,—the "Dragon's Hill,"—the Seven Barrows—the Ridgeway, and Alfred's Castle. These interesting remarks were rendered more satisfactory by the aid of the series of valuable plans of the camps and earthworks which he had caused to be prepared by Mr. Maclauchlan.

The party then visited the White Horse, cut in the turf on the side of the hill. They were there met by a gentleman of the neighbourhood who made a singular proposition, from which the archaeologists present unanimously dissented,—to render the figure durable, by paving it with white stone. The notion was readily abandoned, and the rustic ceremony of "Scouring the White Horse" will, it may be hoped, long continue uninterrupted.

The visitors, having inspected the remarkable block of Sarsen, called the "Blowing-stone," and heard the extraordinary sounds, which may be

produced from it, then repaired to Kingston Lisle, to the mansion of Mr. Atkins, whose kind hospitality formed a very agreeable close to this excursion. They returned by the church of Sparsholt, with its curious tombs. Here the vicar, Dr. Nelson, had provided hospitable entertainment; and the archaeologists proceeding to Wantage, after a visit to its church and the memorials of the Fitzwarrens, rejoined the train, in readiness to convey the party on their return to Oxford.

A numerous party also proceeded in the direction of Wheatley and Cuddesdon, and visited various objects in that direction. They were received at Cuddesdon Palace by the Bishop of Oxford, who accompanied them to the church of Cuddesdon, which formed, on this occasion, the subject of an interesting discourse by Professor Willis. They were conducted also to the remains of the Roman villa and hypocaust, adjacent to the parish, and excavated by the Bishop's directions, as detailed in the *Archæological Journal* (vol. ii, p. 350).

In the evening, the Institute and a large assembly of visitors were invited by the Mayor to a *conversazione*, given at the Town Hall. Numerous valuable works of art were displayed; and an amateur concert of ancient music, under the direction of Mr. Corfe, added to the gratification of the evening. In the Council Chamber the guests were greeted with the well-replenished "grace-cup" of the Corporation, and with other demonstrations of civic hospitality. The arrangements of this entertainment were carried out with great taste and effect by Mr. R. J. SPIERS, and proved a very gratifying termination of the hospitalities of the week.

On Tuesday, June 25th, previously to the concluding meeting, the Architectural Section assembled, DR. HARRINGTON presiding, when the following communications were read:—

Remarks on the Complete Gothic and After-Gothic Styles in Germany, by the REV. W. WHEWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. This valuable memoir is printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. vii, p. 1.

Observations on certain peculiarities of continental churches, especially as to their form and arrangement; by A. MILWARD, Esq.

The curious Charters belonging to the city, commencing with those of John and Henry III., were exhibited in the Council Chamber, and some explanatory observations were offered by the Town Clerk, G. P. HESTER, Esq., a gentleman intimately conversant with the documentary evidences tending to illustrate the history of his native city. They comprise also matters of importance as connected with the annals of the University and the foundation of colleges.

Shortly after twelve, a large assembly again met in the Theatre, where the concluding GENERAL MEETING took place.

The PRESIDENT opened the proceedings by calling upon the Secretaries to submit the Annual Reports of the Central Committee and of the Auditors, which were read by Mr. TUCKER, and, on the motion of the President, they were adopted unanimously.

The following list of the members of the Committee retiring in annual course, and that of persons nominated to fill the vacancies, was then submitted to the meeting, and adopted:—

Members selected to retire:—The Dean of Westminster, *Vice-President*; Peter Cunningham, Esq.; Rev. J. B. Deane; Philip Hardwicke, Esq.; Sir F. Madden; Charles Manby, Esq.; Digby Wyatt, Esq.

The following gentlemen were elected to supply the vacancies:—the Hon. Richard C. Neville, *Vice-President*; John Auldjo, Esq., F.R.S.; W. Wynne Ffoulkes, Esq.; Thomas W. King, Esq., F.S.A., York Herald; Henry Salusbury Milman, Esq.; Alexander Nesbitt, Esq.; Rev. Stephen J. Rigaud, M.A.

The following gentlemen were also elected as Auditors:—Charles Desborough Bedford, Esq.; George Vulliamy, Esq.

The PRESIDENT then called the attention of the Meeting to the selection of the place of assembly for the ensuing year. The Central Committee had received from the Mayor and Corporation of Lichfield, and from the Diocesan Architectural Society, a cordial invitation to that cathedral town, with the assurance of the ready disposition of influential persons in the vicinity, and in the county of Stafford, to render encouragement and assistance. It was, however, understood that the coming year might be less suitable than a later occasion for such a meeting. Peterborough had been proposed, and the Institute had received assurances of the co-operation of the Northamptonshire Architectural Society and of many zealous friends in that county. He would call upon the Secretary to read the gratifying requisition received from the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, to hold a meeting on the banks of the Tyne, in 1852, with the full promise of influential support and of the cordial co-operation of the archaeologists of North Britain. The desire had been also expressed, in a very friendly manner, that the Institute should visit St. Albans. They had cordial assurance of welcome at Chichester, with the aid of the energetic Society of Sussex archaeologists. A letter had been that day received from the noble President of the St. Albans Architectural Society, the Earl of Verulam, with the promise of his sanction and encouragement, in the event of their assembly being held in that place. A strong desire had, however, been expressed that their next meeting should be held in one of the cathedral cities of the West; and the Committee would recommend Bristol, as presenting numerous attractions, with great facilities for visiting the interesting sites in South Wales, Chepstow, Tintern, and Caerleon,—the antiquities there recently brought to light, and the Museum established by an active local society under the auspices of Sir Digby Mackworth.

JOHN BRITTON, Esq., begged to express his warm interest in the proposition to visit Bristol, a locality replete with ancient remains, the claims of which upon the antiquary he had long appreciated. The noble architectural monuments in that city, the Cathedral of Wells, and numerous vestiges of every period, accessible from Bristol, combined to render the place proposed singularly eligible for the objects of the Institute. He had received from their friends in the West frequent intimation of the desire that they should assemble at that city on an early occasion.

It was accordingly unanimously resolved to hold the meeting of the following year at Bristol.

The VICE-CHANCELLOR then rose, and observed that the business of the present occasion being closed, the gratifying duty devolved upon himself to convey their thanks to their noble President. He alluded to the kindness with which the Marquis had hastened home from an interesting foreign tour, that they might not be disappointed of the advantage and gratification of his presence. In common with all the members of the University, he felt the highest satisfaction that the noble President of the Institute had on this occasion permitted them to enrol, as a member of that University,

one who was so distinguished a member of the University of Cambridge, and whose life had been devoted to the advancement of science and literature.

SIR CHARLES ANDERSON, Bart., proposed a vote of thanks to the Vice-Chancellor, who had so cordially promoted the success of the Meeting by his patronage, and with the kindest consideration had secured every desired facility for their advantage.

J. H. MARKLAND, Esq., then proposed their acknowledgment to the Heads of houses, the Proctors, and other distinguished members of the University, from which they had received so friendly a welcome. The Society must gratefully esteem the sanction thus given to the pursuits of British archaeologists by that ancient University. He alluded to the enlightened advance of antiquarian science since the days of Anthony Wood and Hearne, who little thought of times when the noble and the learned would here be found assembled, and taking a prominent part in a society instituted for the study and preservation of national antiquities.

W. W. E. WYNNE, Esq., expressed a suitable tribute to the warm encouragement which they had received from the Mayor of Oxford, and the Municipal authorities of the city.

The MAYOR returned his thanks, with the assurance of the gratification which, in common with his fellow citizens, he had derived from the visit of the Institute, and the opportunity of adding in any degree to the cordial reception with which the Society had been met in that ancient city.

A resolution was proposed by the REV. J. HAMILTON GRAY, to return thanks to the Curators of Public Institutions, especially of the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean Museum, the Taylor Buildings, in which the Institute had been permitted to form so attractive a museum, to the Presidents also of the Ashmolean and Architectural Societies.—The compliment was acknowledged in very gratifying terms by the REV. R. GRESWELL, President of the Ashmolean Society.

The REV. J. L. PETIT then claimed a grateful testimony to the kindness of the Rev. William Sewell, whose reception of the Institute within the walls of Exeter College was without any parallel amongst the gratifying hospitalities with which they had been favoured on similar occasions. He made honourable mention of the kind entertainments which had cheered them in their excursions,—at Ewelme, at Silchester, and amidst the striking historical associations which had recalled the times of Alfred and the prowess of their forefathers on the Berkshire heights.—The REV. WILLIAM SEWELL returned thanks, expressing with much feeling his friendly interest in the visit of the Institute to the University, his desire to contribute to their agreeable reception, and the hope that many might carry away on this occasion the impression that, with the hearty purpose of promoting the advancement of science, the University devoted itself and its resources to those purposes of a deep and lasting import, which alone entitled it to be regarded as a national institution.

The BISHOP OF OXFORD, having entered the Theatre, addressed the meeting, on the invitation of the President. Having expressed regret that his duties and engagements had deprived him of the pleasure of earlier participation in their proceedings that day, he desired to contribute his testimony to the utility of such meetings ;—to the advantages connected with the extension of enlightened views of antiquity which must thence accrue. He spoke in the highest terms of the pleasure and instruction afforded by Professor Willis, both in his elucidation of the history of

the Cathedral, and also during the examination of Cuddesdon Church on the previous day. He felt assured that all present would respond to the proposition he desired to make, and give to the Professor their warmest thanks.

The thanks of the meeting were then moved, by the PROVOST OF ORIEL to the contributors of memoirs ;—by the RECTOR OF EXETER, to the numerous contributors to the museum, the varied contents and instructive arrangement of which had proved so attractive ; and by the REV. BADEN POWELL, Professor of Geometry, to the Presidents and officers of the sections. MR. CHARLES TUCKER proposed thanks to the Local Committee, to their worshipful Chairman the Mayor, and to the Manager of Excursions, the Rev. Edward Hill, whose arrangements had rendered that feature of their proceedings of the meeting signally successful.—MR. HILL, in acknowledging the compliment, moved a closing vote to the Officers of the Institute, and the meeting then separated.

ON THE STUDY OF ARCHAEOLOGY.

A DISCOURSE READ AT THE INAUGURAL MEETING IN THE THEATRE AT OXFORD, ON THE OCCASION OF THE ANNUAL ASSEMBLY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF 1850.

By CHARLES NEWTON, M.A.

THE record of the Human Past is not all contained in printed books. Man's history has been graven on the rock of Egypt, stamped on the brick of Assyria, enshrined in the marble of the Parthenon,—it rises before us a majestic Presence in the piled-up arches of the Coliseum,—it lurks an unsuspected treasure amid the oblivious dust of archives and monasteries,—it is embodied in all the heir-looms of religions, of races, of families, in the relics which affection and gratitude, personal or national, pride of country or pride of lineage, have preserved for us,—it lingers like an echo on the lips of the peasantry, surviving in their songs and traditions, renewed in their rude customs with the renewal of Nature's seasons,—we trace it in the speech, the manners, the type of living nations, its associations invest them as with a garb,—we dig it out from the barrow and the Necropolis, and out of the fragments thus found reconstruct in museums of antiquities something like an image of the Past,—we contemplate this image in fairer proportions, in more exact lineaments, as it has been transmitted by endless reflections in the broken mirror of art.

Again, the vouchers for Printed History, the title-deeds of our great heritage of Printed Literature, are not all preserved in printed texts.

Before there can be Composed History, there must be evidences and documents, Tradition Oral and Tradition Monumental ; before the publication of Printed Literature, there must exist the elements and sources from which such publication is made ; before the Printer must come the Palæographer ; before authoritative edition, scrutiny and authentication. Before we can discern the image of a period, or read the history of a race in Monuments of Art, we must ascertain to what period and to what race these monuments belong ;

before antiquities become the materials for the history of manners, they must be collected and arranged in museums ; in other words, if we would authenticate Printed Literature, if we would verify and amplify Printed History, if we would not ignore all those new elements of thought and memorials of the deeds of men which time is for ever disclosing to us, we must recognise the purpose and function of Archaeology ; that purpose and function being to collect, to classify, and to interpret all the evidence of man's history not already incorporated in Printed Literature.

This evidence, the subject-matter of Archaeology, has been handed down to us, partly in spoken language, in manners, and in customs, partly in written documents and manuscript literature, partly in remains of architecture, painting, and sculpture, and of the subordinate decorative and useful arts.

Or, to speak more concisely, the subject-matter of Archaeology is threefold,—the Oral, the Written, and the Monumental.

Perhaps it would be more exact to say, that there are but two classes of archaeological evidences, the Oral and the Monumental, Monuments being either inscribed or Monuments of art and of handicraft.

But I shall venture, on this occasion, to waive strict logical accuracy for the sake of an arrangement which seems more convenient and impressive.

I shall consider each of the three classes of archaeological evidence in succession, taking, first, the Oral, under which head I would include not only all that has been handed down to us in Language, but all that can be gathered from the study of Manners and Customs.

That spoken language is Archaeological evidence is sufficiently obvious. Every one is aware that in tracing out the history of any language, we must study not only its written form, but those archaic words, inflections, and idioms, which literature has either rejected or forgotten, which, once general, have become provincial, and are retained only in the mother-tongue of the peasantry.

These obsolete and rare forms of speech are to the philologist what the extinct Faunas and Floras of the primeval world are to the comparative anatomist and the botanist ; and, as Geology collects and prepares for the physiologist these scattered elements of the history of nature, so does Archaeology glean these vestiges of language, and construct out of them

glossaries of provincial words, that they may form evidence in the great scheme of modern Philology.

As only a certain portion of the spoken language of a race is permanently incorporated in its literature, so its written poetry and history only represent a certain portion of the national tradition. Every peasantry has its songs and mythic legends, its rude oral narrative of real events, blended with its superstitions. Archaeology rescues these from oblivion, by making them a part of Printed Literature. It is thus that Walter Scott has collected the minstrelsy of the Scottish border, and Grimm the traditions of Germany.

Such relics are of peculiar interest to the historian of literature, because they contain the germ of Written History and Poetry; before the epic comes the ballad, the first chronicle is the sum of many legends.

But unwritten tradition is not all embodied in language, it has been partly preserved to us in manners and customs. In a rude, unlettered age, indeed at all times when men are too ignorant, hurried, or pre-occupied to be acted upon by language alone, the instinct of those who govern the multitude has suggested other means.

Symbolic acts and gestures, tokens, forms, ceremonies, customs are all either supplementary to or the substitute for articulate speech.

In the processions, military triumphs, coronations, nuptials, and funeral ceremonies of all races we see this unwritten, inarticulate, symbolic, language in its most fully developed and eloquent form.

Hence it is obviously necessary for the Archaeologist to study customs. Addressing the eye by symbols more generally and readily understood even than words, they may be said to exhibit the utterance of thought in its most primitive and elementary form; the repetition of such utterance becomes record which, however rude and precarious, may still rank as a distinct source of historical evidence.

For the observance of such customs as fall under the notice of the Archaeologist, it is for the most part necessary that certain acts should be performed, or certain instruments employed with or without the recital of a set form of words; the custom may be commemorative or symbolic without reference to the past; the event of which it is the memorial

may be real or mythical ; the doctrine it typifies and embodies may be religious, political, or legal ; its observance may be occasional, as in the case of a marriage ceremony, or periodical, as in the case of the great festivals with which most nations distinguish the course of the seasons. The Archaeologist, of course, directs his attention less to those customs which form a part of the established religion and legal code of a race than to those which, being the result of ideas once generally prevalent, still survive among the peasantry in remote districts, or of which dim traces may be still discerned in the institutions of modern society. It is thus that, in the customs of Calabria, we still trace the relics of the ancient heathen worship, and that the customs of Greece and Asia Minor remain a living commentary on the text of Homer.

The peasant's mind reflects what has been rather than what is. It revolves in the same circle as the more cultivated mind of the nation, but at a much slower rate. On the great dial-plate of time, one is the hourhand while the other is the minutehand.

When customs are only partially extant, the Archaeologist has not only to record and interpret the usage, but to preserve the instrument with which that usage was associated.

It is thus that the horns which once ratified the tenure of land, the sword or mace, once instruments of investiture and insignia of feudal or official power, vessels once consecrated to the service of religion, are gathered in, one by one, into national museums, the garners and treasuries of archaeology.

A custom may be not merely extinct, but buried. In the tombs of many races, such as the Celtic or Scandinavian, we find nearly all that is known of their sepulchral rites, and thus an examination of the places of sepulture of various countries enables us, with the aid of philology, to trace out many unsuspected national affinities, while at the same time it gives us the means of comparing a number of unwritten creeds. In an uncivilised age men do not define their religious belief in a set form of words, but express it by symbolic rites, by acts rather than by statements.

It is the business of the Archaeologist to read these hieroglyphics, not graven on the rock, but handed down in the memory and embodied in the solemn acts of races, to elicit these faint rays of historical evidence, latent in the tomb.

Manners differ from customs, in that they furnish rather general evidence of a nation's character than special evidence for particular facts ; that they are neither commemorative nor symbolic.

It was the custom of the last century to drink the king's health after dinner ; it is part of the general history of English manners to know how our ancestors comported themselves at their meals, and when they first began to use forks.

Traces of ancient manners must be sought, as we seek for customs, in the secluded life of the peasantry, or we must discern them half-obliterated beneath the palimpsest surface of modern society, and this palimpsest must be read by a diligent collation not only with early literature, but with the picture of ancient manners preserved in Monuments of Art.

Such then is a slight outline of the Oral evidence of Archaeology. It is inferior in dignity either to Written or to Monumental evidence, because of all the means which man possesses for utterance and record, the oral is the most transient.

We may add that animals are not altogether destitute of oral utterance. Though they do not articulate, they communicate their meaning vocally, and by gesticulation ; and some of them can imitate articulate speech, action, and music.

But no animal but man draws or writes, or leaves behind him conscious monumental record.

It is because man can draw, because he possesses the distinctive faculty of imitating forms and expressing thoughts not only by his own gesticulations, but by and through some material external to himself, that he has acquired the inestimable power of writing. This general assertion, that all writing has its origin in drawing is, perhaps, open to discussion, but those who have most deeply investigated the question, have been led to this conclusion, by a comparison of the most primitive systems of writing now extant.

It is stated by these authorities that the elements of all written character are to be found in the Picture, or Direct Representation of some visible object ; that such Pictures were subsequently applied as Phonetic symbols, or symbols of sounds, and as Emblems, or symbols of ideas ; that these three modes of conveying meaning, by Direct Representation,

by Phonetic symbols, and by Emblems, existed co-ordinately for a while, and were finally absorbed into, and commuted for the one fixed conventional Alphabetic method.

If we apply this theory to the classification of the systems of writing which remain to us, it will be seen that, though not of course admitting of arrangement in chronological sequence, they exhibit the art in various stages of its development. The Mexican will present to us a system in which the Pictorial is predominant; the Egyptian hieroglyphics will enable us to trace the gradual extension of the Phonetic and Emblematic, the abbreviation of both forms in the more cursive Hieratic, and the decay of the Pictorial system: the Chinese, and perhaps the Assyrian Cuneiform, will bring us one step nearer the purely conventional system; and the perfection of the Alphabetic method will be found in the Phœnician, as it has been adapted by the Hellenic race.

I will not attempt here to illustrate more fully, or to justify more in detail, this theory as to the origin of writing; nor do I ask you, on the present occasion, to admit more than the general fact, which the most superficial examination of the Egyptian or Mexican hieroglyphics will show, that there have been ages and nations when the Alphabetic system was as yet undeveloped, and the Pictorial was its substitute, and consequently that there was a period when art and writing were not divorced as they are at present, but so blended into one, that we can best express the union by such a compound as Picture-writing.

This original connection between two arts which we are accustomed to consider as opposed, obliges us to regard the elements of writing as part of the history of imitative art generally. Thus the inscribed monuments of Egypt are neither art nor literature, but rather the elements out of which both sprang, just as early poetry contains the germ both of history and philosophy.

It is this first stage in the history of writing which peculiarly claims from the Archaeologist thought and study. The art of which he has to trace the progress, as it has, perhaps, more contributed to civilisation than any other human invention, so has it only been perfected after many centuries of experiment and fruitless labour. We, to whom the Alpha-

betic system has been handed down as the bequest of a remote antiquity, find a difficulty in transporting our minds backwards to the period when it was yet unknown ; the extreme simplicity of the method makes us accept it as a matter of course, as an instrument which man has always possessed, not as something only wrought out by patient, oft repeated trials in the course of ages. Till we study the Egyptian hieroglyphics, we are not aware how difficult it must have been for the more perfect Phonetic system to displace the Pictorial, how long they continued co-ordinate, what perplexity of rules this co-ordination engendered, how obstinately the routine of habit maintained an old method however intricate and inconvenient, against a new principle however simple and broad in its application. The history of writing, in a word, exhibits to us most impressively a type of that great struggle between new inventions and inveterate routine, out of which civilisation has been slowly and painfully evolved.

When we pass from the study of imperfect and transition systems of writing, such as the Mexican, Egyptian, Cuneiform, and Chinese, to the study of perfect alphabets, it is rather the tradition of the art from race to race, than the inventive genius shown in its development, which forms the subject of our inquiries.

The Phœnician alphabet is the primary source of the system of writing we now use. The Greek and Roman alphabets, each adapted from the Phœnician with certain additions and modifications, were gradually diffused by commerce or conquest through the length and breadth of the ancient civilised world. On the decay of the Western empire of the Romans, their alphabet, like their language, law, architecture, and sculpture, became the property of their Teutonic conquerors.

Rude hands now wielded these great instruments of civilisation ; strong wills moulded and adapted them to new wants and conditions ; and it was thus that the Roman alphabet, transferred from marble to parchment, no longer graven but written, was gradually transformed into that fantastic and complicated character which is popularly called black letter, and in which the original simple type is sometimes as difficult to recognise, as it is to discern at the first

glance the connection between the stately, clustered pier and richly sculptured capital of the Gothic cathedral, and its remote archetype, the Greek column.

The changes which the handwriting of the Western world underwent from the commencement of the Middle Ages to the revival of the simple Roman character in the first printed texts have been most clearly traced out, century by century, by means of the vast series of dated specimens of medieval writing still extant.

When we turn from the Palæography of the Western to that of the Eastern world, we find the evidence of the subject in a far less accessible state.

In tracing back the history of Oriental systems of writing, as in investigating the sources of Oriental civilisation, we cannot, as in the West, recognise in many varieties the same original classical type; there is no one paramount influence, no one continuous stream of tradition, no one alphabet the parent of all the rest; the chronological basis of the Palæography rests on much less certain grounds.

When this branch of the history of writing has been more studied, we shall be able to say more positively whether the Assyrian Cuneiform is a modification of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, whether the Phœnician alphabet was derived from the same elements, whether it was the parent not only of the Greek and the Roman, but also of the Semitic alphabets generally, and we shall probably discover more than one other independent source whence some of the Oriental alphabets may have been derived.

This, then, is one point of view in which the Archaeologist may regard all written memorials,—as evidence either of the invention or of the tradition of the alphabetic system; but the history of the art cannot be fully investigated without taking into account the nature of the writing materials employed. These materials have been very different in different ages and countries. Character may be either *graven* on hard materials, such as stone or metal, *written* on pliable materials, such as bark, papyrus, parchment, linen, paper, or *impressed* as the potters' names are on the Samian ware, or the legends of coins on a metallic surface. The greater part of the writing of the ancient world has been preserved on the native rock, hewn stones, metallic tablets,

or baked clay, as in the case of the Cuneiform character. There was a preference for hard unpliant materials in classical antiquity just as there was a preference for parchment as a writing material all through the Middle Ages, both in Europe and Asia. As the harder materials fell into disuse, the character of course became more cursive, writings circulated more generally from hand to hand, and were multiplied by frequent copies not only to meet an increased demand, but because that which is written is more perishable than that which is graven; the stroke of the chisel is a more abiding record than the stroke of the pen.

In consequence of this difference in the writing material, the researches of the Palæographer of classical antiquity embrace a far wider field than those of the medieval Palæographer. It is in the marble and the granite, in the market-places, the temples, and the sepulchres of the ancients that we must search for their records; these were their libraries, their muniment rooms, their heralds' college. If Magna Charta had been ceded to the Roman plebs, instead of to the English nobles, it would not have been called Magna Charta, but Magna Tabula, or Magna Columna; most of the Diplomatic record of the ancients was a Lapidary record.

I have been as yet considering the written memorials of races only as they are evidence of the art of writing itself, but Archaeology has not only to study character and writing materials, but also to interpret more or less the meaning of the words written, and to inquire how far they have an historical value.

Now all written character, all *literature*, to use this word in its original sense, may be divided into two great classes,—the Composed and the Documentary.

By Composed Literature I mean history, poetry, oratory, philosophy, and such like mental products; by Documentary Literature I mean all writings which have no claim to rank as literary composition,—such as deeds, charters, registers, calendars, lists,—in a word, all those historical and literary materials, some of which are already incorporated in composed history and composed literature; some of which are stored up in national, ecclesiastical, municipal, or private archives; some of which yet remain *in situ*, associated with the architectural monuments and works of art on which they are inscribed, and some of which, uncared for or unknown,

moulder on the surface of untravelled lands, or in the ruins of deserted cities.

Now, in regard to Composed Literature, it is obvious that its subject-matter is far too vast for the scope and limits of archaeological research ; it is chiefly with its manuscript text that the Palæographer has to deal ; his business is to collect, decipher, collate, edit. Printing transfers the text from his hands to those of the philologist, the historian, and the critic.

In dealing with the Literature of Documents, the Archaeologist has to do more than barely edit the text. On him, in a great measure, is devolved the task of interpretation and classification ; the mere deciphering or printing the documents does not at once render them accessible to the general reader, nothing but long familiarity, acquired in the course of editing, can give dexterity and intelligence in their use. It is the business, then, of the Archaeologist to prepare for the historian the literature of documents generally, as Gruter has edited his great work on Latin inscriptions, or Muratori the documents of medieval Italy.

He must as far as possible ascertain the value of this unedited material in reference to what is already incorporated with printed literature, how far it suggests new views, supplies new facts, illustrates, corroborates, or disproves something previously acknowledged or disputed ; whether, in a word, it will contribute anything to the great mass of human knowledge which printing already embodies.

Composed Literature should be as far as possible confronted with those written documents which are, in reference to it, vouchers, commentary, or supplement. Sometimes we possess the very materials which the historian used ; sometimes we have access to evidence of which he had no knowledge.

Now, it is needless to insist on the historical value of such documents as the inscription of Darius on the rock of Behistan, the Rosetta stone, and the many hieroglyphical and cuneiform texts which the sagacity and learning of a Young, a Champollion, and a Rawlinson have taught the nineteenth century to interpret by means of these two trilingual keys.

Such evidence speaks for itself. When in the laboratory of the philologist and the historian these documents shall have been slowly transmuted into composed narrative, we may hope to contemplate the ancient world from a new point

of view. The narrow boundaries of classical chronology may be enlarged by these discoveries as the barriers of ancient geography were burst through by the adventurous prow of the Genoese navigator ; events, dynasties, and personages, which flit before our strained eyes, far away in the dim offing of primeval history, shrouded in the fantastic haze of Hellenic mythology, may be revealed to us in more defined outlines, if not in perfect fulness of detail.

But it is not merely where there is such immediate promise of a great historical result that the Archaeologist must study written evidence, nor must he confine his labours to the editing what is already complete as a document ; he must out of isolated and fragmentary materials construct instruments for the historian to use.

Roman coins are not *Fasti*, nor are Greek coins a treatise on ancient geography, yet the labour of numismatists has made the one almost the best authority for the chronology of the Roman empire, and has found in the other an inestimable commentary on Strabo and Ptolemy.

The seals, deeds, and sepulchral brasses of the Middle Ages are not in themselves pedigrees, but how have they not contributed to the legal proof of genealogies ? The countless rolls relating to the property of individuals preserved in muniment rooms, seem many of them of little historical value ; but out of them what a full and minute history of ancient tenures has been developed ; what directories, and gazetteers, and inventories of the past, giving us the names, titles, and addresses of those historic personages, whom in reading the old chronicles we are perpetually liable to confound.

The pioneering labour which prepares the Literature of Documents will always be appreciated by a great historical mind. After a Gruter, an Eckhel, and a Muratori, come a Gibbon, a Niebuhr, a Sismondi.

Before we dismiss this branch of our subject, there is one more point to be noted, the use of written documents not for the immediate purposes of history, but subordinately, as evidence for archaeological classification. It is obviously easier to fix the date of an inscribed than of an uninscribed work of art, because Palæography has rules of criticism of its own, perfectly independent of those by which we judge of art or fabric. In arranging the Monumental evidence of Archaeology, we cannot dispense with the collateral illustration

of the Written evidence. Palæography is the true guide of the historian of Art.

It is this third branch of our whole subject-matter, the Monumental, which we have now to consider.

Monuments are either works of Art or works of Handicraft. Art is either Constructive or Imitative ; Handicraft either Useful or Decorative.

I must recall you for a moment to the point from which I started in treating of the history of writing. I said that man was the only animal that imitated in a material external to himself ; who, in other words, practised painting and sculpture. To draw and to carve are natural to man ; speech, gesture, and music are his transient,—sculpture, painting, and writing, his permanent means of utterance. There is hardly any race that has not produced some rude specimens of sculpture and painting ; there are a few only who have brought them to perfection.

Now, there is a point of view in which we may regard the imitative art of all races, the most civilised as well as the most barbarous—in reference, namely, to the power of correctly representing animal or vegetable forms such as exist in nature. The perfection of such imitation depends not so much on the manual dexterity of the artist as on his intelligence in comprehending the type or essential qualities of the form which he desires to represent. One artist may make the figure of a man like a jointed doll, because he discerns in human structure no more than the general fact of a head, trunk, and limbs. Another may perceive in nature and indicate in art some traces, however slight, of vital organisation, of bones and muscles, and of their relation to each other as pulleys and levers. A third may represent them in their true forms in action and repose.

This is real, intellectual art, because it represents not the forms merely, but the life which animates them. This difference between one artist and another in the mode of representing organic life is the most essential part of what is called style. As the styles of individual artists differ in this respect, so it is with the art of races.

If we compare the representation of a man in Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, Medieval, Chinese, Indian, and Mexican sculpture, we shall see that the same bones and muscles, the same organisation and general type, have been very diffe-

rently rendered in different ages and countries ; and that the examples I have cited may be ranged in a scale from the Greek downward to the Mexican, according to the amount of essential truth embodied in these several representations of nature. Here then we get a common measure or standard of the art of all races and ages, whether it be painting or sculpture, whatever be the material in which it is executed ; whether the work of which we have to judge be one of the statues from the pediment of the Parthenon, or an Otaheitan idol ; a fresco of Michael Angelo, or a Dutch picture ; a painted window, or a picture on a Greek vase ; a coin, or the head of Memnon ; the Bayeux tapestry, or the cartoons at Hampton Court.

All these are works of imitative art ; some more, some less worthy of being so called.

Now, the artists who executed these works had this in common, that they all tried to imitate nature, each according to his powers and means, but they differed very widely in those powers and means. Some painted, some carved ; some worked on a colossal, others on a minute scale. For the solution of the problem they had proposed to themselves, a very varied choice of means presented itself. Thus by the word painting we may mean a fresco painting, or an oil painting, or an encaustic painting, or a painted window, or a vase picture. Sculpture may be in wood, in ivory, in marble, in metal. Each material employed by the sculptor or painter imposes on him certain conditions which are the law under which he ought to work. He may either turn the material he uses to the best account, master its difficulties, and atone for its deficiencies, or he may in turn be mastered by them.

The difference between artist and artist, or school and school, in this respect, constitutes what has been justly called specific style, as opposed to general style. The Archaeologist must take cognisance not only of general, but of specific style. He must compare the art of different races as much as possible *in pari materiâ* ; he must ascertain as nearly as he can the real conditions under which the artist wrought before he can appreciate his work ; he must observe how similar necessities have in different ages suggested the trial of similar technical means ; how far the artist has succeeded or failed in the working out these experiments.

In this, as in every other branch of archaeological research he will be led to remark great original differences between races, and certain resemblances, the result of the influence of school upon school by tradition or imitation.

By this study of external characteristics he will obtain the true criteria for arranging all art both chronologically and ethnographically, and will also be able to form some kind of scale of the relative excellence of all that he has to classify.

Thus far his work is analogous to that of the Palæographer, who acquaints himself with the systems of writing of all races, traces their tradition and the changes they undergo, and assigns them to their respective periods and countries.

But, as we have already pointed out, the Palæographer has not only to acquaint himself with the handwriting, but to bestow more or less of study on the words written ; and in some cases, as in the Egyptian hieroglyphics, the work of deciphering and of interpretation compel him to be deeply versed in history and philology.

So it is with the Archaeology of Art. We must not only know the mere external characteristics of the style, we must know the meaning or motive which pervades it ; we must be able to read and to interpret it.

It is only a knowledge of the meaning or motive of art that enables us to appreciate its most essential qualities. The highest art is thought embodied and stated to the eye ; hence it has been well defined as "mute poetry."

Now, when we survey all the remains of art of which Archaeology has cognisance, we shall perceive that it is only a certain portion of these remains that can be said to embody thought.

It is those works of Imitative Art which embody thought, which have the first claim on the attention of the Archaeologist, and, above all, those which express religious ideas.

The most elevated art which the world has yet seen has been devoted to the service of Religion. Art has stereotyped and developed that Figurative and Symbolic language, of which we find the partial and transient expression in the Oral Symbolism of rituals.

When I speak of a Figurative and Symbolic language, I include under this general term all idols and visible emblems, all productions of the painter and sculptor, which have been

either themselves objects of worship, or have been associated with such objects,—have been designed to address religious sympathies, to teach religious doctrines, or to record religious traditions.

There is, perhaps, hardly any race, which has not at some period of its history possessed some sort of Figurative and Symbolic language for religious uses. The utterance of this language is feeblor, or more emphatic ; its range of expression narrower, or more varied, according to the character of the religion, and the genius of the race. Some religions are pre-eminently sensuous, such, for instance, as the Egyptian, the Greek, the Hindoo, in fact, all the great systems of polytheistic worship ; in other cases, the nature of the creed warrants and requires a much narrower range of Figurative and Symbolic language, as in the case of the ancient Persian fire-worship, or interdicts the most essential part of it, as the Mahommedan interdicts all representation of animal forms.

Now, as in Philology, we lay the foundation for a general comparison of articulate languages by the study of some one example more perfect in structure, fuller and richer in compass than the rest, such a type, for instance, as the Greek or the Sanscrit ; so, if we would acquaint ourselves with the Figurative and Symbolic language of Art generally, we should study it in its finest form.

When we survey the monuments of all time, we find two perfectly developed and highly cultivated forms of utterance, the language of Greek Art, and the language of the Art of Medieval Christendom ; in almost all other races the expression of religious ideas in art seems, in comparison, like a rude dialect, not yet fashioned by the poet and the orator. Of the idolatrous nations of the ancient world, the Greeks were, as far as we know, the first to reduce the colossal proportions of the idol, to discard monstrous combinations of human and animal forms, and to substitute the image of beautiful humanity. The sculptor and the poet shaped and moulded the mythic legends ; as the Figurative language of Art grew more perfect, as the mastery over form enabled the artist to embody thought more poetically and eloquently, the ancient hieratic Symbolism became less and less prominent.

As the Greek myth gradually absorbed into itself the

earliest theological and philosophical speculations of the race, blending religious tradition with the traditions of history, personified agencies with the agencies of real personages, the record of physical phenomena with poetic allegory,—so the Figurative Language of Art expanded to express this complex development. Mythography, or the expression of the Myth in Art, moved on, *pari passu*, with mythology, or the expression of the Myth in Literature: as one has reacted on the other, so is one the interpreter of the other.

It is impossible till we have studied both conjointly, to see how completely the religion of the Greeks penetrated into their social institutions and daily life. The Myth was not only embodied in the sculpture of Phidias on the Parthenon, or pourtrayed in the frescoes of Polygnotus in the Stoa Poicile; it was repeated in a more compendious and abbreviated form on the fictile vase of the Athenian household; on the coin which circulated in the market-place; on the mirror in which the Aspasia of the day beheld her charms. Every domestic implement was made the vehicle of Figurative language, or fashioned into a Symbol.

Now, to us this mother tongue of Mythography, these household words, so familiar to the Greeks, are a dead letter, except so far as the Archaeologist can explain them by glosses and commentaries. His task is one of interpretation—he is the Scholiast and the Lexicographer of Art.

The method of interpretation which the classical Archaeologist has applied to Greek Art is well worthy the attention of those who undertake the interpretation of Christian Medieval Art.

As the Greeks have bequeathed to us not only a Mythology, but a Mythography, so in the painting and sculpture of medieval Christendom we find an unwritten Theology, a popular, figurative teaching of the sublime truths of Christianity, blended with the apocryphal traditions of many generations. The frescoes of the great Italian masters, from Giotto to Michael Angelo, the ecclesiastical sculpture of medieval Europe generally, are the texts in which we should study this unwritten theology.

It is in these continuous compositions, designed by great artists, that we can best study the Figurative and Symbolic language of Christian Art as a scheme, and seek the key to its interpretation. This key once obtained, we learn to read

not the great texts merely, but the most compendious and abbreviated Symbolism, the isolated passages and fragments of the greater designs.

It is then that we recognise the unity of motive and sentiment which runs all through Medieval Art, and see how an external unity of style is the result of a deeper spiritual unity, as the manners of individuals spring out of their whole character and way of life ; it is then that antiquities, which to the common observer seem of small account, become to us full of meaning. Every object which reflects and repeats the greater art of the period, whether it be costume, or armour, or household furniture, is of interest to the Archaeologist.

The cross which formed the hilt of the sword of the warrior ; the martyrology which was embroidered on the cope of the ecclesiastic, or which inlaid the binding of his missal ; the repetition of the design of Raffaele in the Majolica ware ; if not in themselves the finest specimens of medieval art, are valuable as evidence of the universality of its pervading presence,—as fragments of a great whole.

In many cases the interpreter of Christian Art has an easier task than his fellow-labourer, the interpreter of Greek Art. Christian Iconography is at once more congenial, and more familiar to us, than Greek Mythography. Much of the religious feeling it embodies still exists in the hearts of men ; the works of Christian art themselves afford far ampler illustration of their own language. The frescoes of Cimabue and Giotto, the great poems of Fra Angelico, Raffaele, and Michael Angelo, have not perished like the works of the Greek painters, or been preserved to us in fragments, like the sculptures of the Parthenon. The façades of the cathedrals of Europe are still rich in statuary ; the “ dim religious light ” still pierces through “ the storied window.”

We possess not only the original designs of the great sculptors and painters of the Middle Ages, but endless copies and reflections from these designs in the costume, armour, coins, seals, pottery, furniture, and other antiquities of the contemporary period. We are not compelled to seek for Art in what was meant as mere Handicraft, as we study the history of Greek painting in vase-pictures ; we have not only the Art, but the Handicraft too.

But we have not shown as much diligence in applying Medieval Literature to the illustration of contemporary Medieval Art as the Classical Archaeologist has shown in comparing mythology and mythography.

Christian Iconography and Christian Symbolism must be read, as Lord Lindsay has read them, with the illustration of the lives of the saints, the theology and the poetry of the Middle Ages. We must study the Pisan Campo Santo with Dante in our hands.

In these remarks on the figurative language of Art, I have not attempted to lay down for your guidance systems and canons of interpretation ; I have rather called your attention to the example of classical art in which a particular method of study has been long and successfully carried out.

Nor have I at all alluded to a most essential part of the History of Art, the tradition of its Figurative and Symbolic language from race to race ; or shown how far the Mythography of the Greeks was modified by, and contributed in turn to modify, the Oriental and Egyptian Mythographies ; how Roman Pantheism gradually absorbed into itself all these motley elements ; how the earlier Christian Art, like the architecture, law, language and literature of medieval Christendom, was full of adapted Paganism ; how, not forgetting the power of deep-rooted associations, it borrowed the symbols of an extinct idolatry, as medieval literature borrowed the imagery of the classical writers ; how long the influence of that symbolism and that imagery has survived, affecting, in a peculiar manner, the view of physical nature both in art and poetry ; and how, lastly, the great features of the landscape which ancient sculpture and poetry translated into a peculiar figurative language, have been, so to speak, retranslated in the painting and the poetry of an age of physical science like our own.

It remains for me to say a few words on other branches of Imitative Art. There is an ideal art which is not devoted to religion, but purely secular in its subject-matter and purpose, just as there is a secular poetry which gradually prevails over the religious poetry of an earlier age ; but the portion of this secular ideal art of which Archaeology has to take cognisance is comparatively small.

Again, there is Historical art, or that which represents real events in history ; and Portraiture, which, taken in its widest

sense, includes all representation not only of human beings, but also of visible objects in nature. Now it is hardly necessary to insist on the interest either of Historical art or of Portraiture as archaeological evidence.

Historical art can never be as trustworthy a document as written history; its narrative power is far more limited;—but how much it illustrates written history, how much it supplies where written history is wanting, or is yet undeciphered?

The bas-reliefs of Egypt and Assyria are the supplement to the hieroglyphic, or cuneiform text; the type of the Roman coin completes the historical record of its legend; the legend explains the type; the combination presents to us some passage in the public life of the emperor of the day.

Inscribed Historical art is at all times the simplest and most popular mode of teaching history; perhaps in such a state of society as that of Egypt or Assyria, the only mode.

Again, when Historical art is presented to us completely detached from the written text, and where the composed history of a period is ever so ample,—who would not use the illustration offered by Historical art?—who would reject such a record as the spiral frieze on the column of Trajan, and the bas-reliefs on the triumphal arches of the Roman empire? Who would not think the narrative of Herodotus, vivid and circumstantial as it is, would acquire fresh interest could we see that picture of Darius setting out on his Scythian expedition, which Mandrocles caused to be painted?—or the representation of Marathon with which Micon and Panæus adorned the Athenian Stoa Poicile?

If Historical art contribute to the fuller illustration of composed history, still more does Portraiture. If the very idea of the great *dramatis personæ*, who have successively appeared on the stage of universal history, stirs our hearts within us, who would not wish to see their bodily likeness?—who would not acknowledge that the statues and busts of the Cæsars are the marginal illustration of the text of Tacitus? that the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, rich as it is in every kind of document, is incomplete without the portraits by Vandyke and Reynolds?—or, to pass from the portraits of individuals to the general portraiture of society, can we form a just idea of Greek and Roman manners without the pictures on vases and the pictures of Pompeii? or of medieval manners without the illuminations of manuscripts?

Are not the Nimroud bas-reliefs all that remains to us of the social life of the great Assyrian empire? If costume, armour, household furniture and implements, are all part of the history of manners, if these relics are in themselves worth studying, so too must be those representations which teach us how they were applied in daily life.

Having considered the monuments of Imitative, I will now pass on to the monuments of Constructive Art, and the products of the useful and decorative arts generally, or of Handicraft, from all which may be elicited a kind of latent history, rather implied than consciously stated, not transmitted in writing, nor even in words.

Of all monuments of Constructive Art, the most abiding, the most impressive and full of meaning, are the architectural. The first object of the Archaeologist, in studying a building, should be to ascertain its date, the race by whom, and the purpose for which it was erected. But his task does not end with this primary classification; he ought to indicate the value of Architecture as evidence for the Historian, to read and interpret the indirect record it embodies.

Of many aspects in which we may regard Architecture, these three may be especially noted. First, it is an evidence of the constructive power of a race, of their knowledge of mechanical science. Secondly, being an investment of capital, it is a measure of the financial resources of a nation at a particular period, a document for their financial history. Thirdly, we must consider Architecture as the great law which has in all time regulated the growth and affected the form of painting and sculpture, till they attain to a certain period in their development, and free themselves from its influence. I shall say a few words on each of these three points.

First of Architecture, as evidence of constructive power: In all building operations more or less of the same problems have to be solved.

The purpose of the edifice, the space allotted for the site, the quantity and quality of the building material, and the law of gravitation, prescribe a certain form. These are the external necessities within which the will of the architect is free to range. The problems he has to solve may be more or less difficult; the purpose of the building may dictate a more or less complicated structure; the site and building

materials may be more or less favourable ; the mechanical knowledge required may be more or less profound ; it is in the solution of these problems that various races have shown a greater or less degree of intellectual power ; it is from the study of the architectural problems so solved that we obtain a common measure of the mind of races perfectly distinct from any other standard.

In a Gothic cathedral the truths of mechanical science are stated, not by words, but by deeds ; it is knowledge, not written, but enacted.

The pyramids and temples of Egypt, the Parthenon, the ruins of Baalbec, the Duomo at Florence, the railway bridges and viaducts of the nineteenth century, are all so many chapters in the history of mechanical science, not in themselves treatises, but containing the materials of treatises. So much has been recently written on this branch of architectural study, that I shall merely allude to it here, especially in addressing an audience many of whom have the advantage of hearing every year a lecture on structure from the historian of our cathedrals, Professor Willis.

Having glanced at Architecture as part of the history of science, let us regard it for a moment as part of the history of finance. In all Architecture there is an outlay of the capital of labour, and of the capital absorbed in the cost of materials. The wealth thus permanently invested, if it be national wealth, is seldom replaced by any direct financial return. In the balance-sheet of nations it is more frequently entered as capital sunk, than as capital profitably invested.

When, therefore, we have made an estimate of the probable cost of an ancient edifice, grounded partly on the evidence of the building itself, partly on our general knowledge of the period to which it belongs, we must next consider out of what resources it was reared : did the builders invest income or capital ? in the hope of profitable return, or from what other of the many motives which induce men to spend money ?

Here, then, we find an architectural common measure, not only of the wealth of nations at a particular period, but also of their taste and judgment in spending that wealth.

When we survey the architecture of all time in regard to its motive, it presents to us under this aspect four principal

groups. It is either Votive, Commemorative, Military, or Commercial. By Votive, I mean all edifices dedicated to the service of Religion ; by Commemorative, such structures as the triumphal arches of Rome ; all sepulchral monuments from the Pyramids downwards ; all buildings, in a word, of which the paramount object is national or personal record.

The term Military needs no explanation.

By Commercial, I mean much of what is commonly called civil architecture : all such works as bridges, exchanges, aqueducts, moles, tunnels, which, however great the original outlay, are undertaken by nations, companies, or individuals, with the ultimate hope of a profitable return.

Now, if it be admitted that the religious sentiment,—the historical instinct, or rather the sense of national greatness, its source,—the military spirit or necessities,—the commercial enterprise and resources of a race, severally determine the character of its Votive, Commemorative, Military, and Commercial architecture,—such monuments will give us a measure of the relative strength and successive predominance of each of these great motives of national action. Thus, in the chart of universal history, we may more distinctly trace the direction and calculate the force of some of the tides and currents of public opinion by which society has been variously swayed.

In Egypt, Architecture was pre-eminently Votive and Commemorative : in the temples of the Athenian Acropolis, the Votive and the Commemorative were blended, the glory of the individual was merged in that of the state,—the idea of the state was inseparable from that of its religion ; the practical genius of the Romans was developed in great works at once Military and Commercial,—roads, bridges, aqueducts, moles, tunnels, fortifications ; Votive and Military architecture absorbed the surplus wealth of the Middle Ages ; in our own day, the magnificence of our Commercial architecture, of our railway bridges and viaducts,—contrasts somewhat strangely with the stunted and starveling Gothic of our modern churches ; but it is fair to remember that the imperious need of an ever increasing population has transferred to charity part of the resources of architecture, and that we must not seek for the Votive investment of the nineteenth century only in its Religious edifices.

The study of the motive of architectural investment is essential to the Archaeologist for the due comprehension of the whole style of the Architecture; but the tracing out the financial sources of that investment is rather the business of the Historian. Therefore, I will but remind you here how the centralising power of despotism reared with the slave labour of captive nations, and the produce of the most fertile of soils, the Votive and Commemorative architecture of Egypt,—how the victories of Marathon and Salamis gained for Athens those island and Asiatic dependencies, whose tribute built the Parthenon,—how Rome gave back to a conquered world part of their plundered wealth in the aqueducts, bridges, harbours, and fortifications, which the Empire constructed for the provinces,—and how, lastly, in most parts of Medieval Christendom, as there were but three great Landowners, so there were but three great Architects,—the Sovereign, the Churchman, and the Noble.

The third aspect in which the Archaeologist must regard Architecture, is in its relation to Painting and Sculpture. Every one who is the least conversant with the history of Art knows that Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, as they are naturally connected, so have in all times been more or less associated, and that the divorce by which, in modern times, they have been parted, is as exceptional as it is to be deplored. In a great age of art, the structure modifies and is in turn modified by the painting and sculpture with which it is decorated, and it is out of the antagonism of the decorative and the structural that a harmonious whole is produced. The great compositions of Phidias in the pediments of the Parthenon were regulated by the triangular space they had to fill, the proportions of the whole building itself were again adjusted to the scale of the chryselephantine statue of Pallas Athene which it contained; for in the Greek, and the ancient idolatries generally, the temple of a god was considered his dwelling-place, his statue in the interior, the symbol—and more than the symbol—of his bodily presence.

Therefore, if the Mythography was colossal, so was the Architecture; if the genius of the religion invested the god with a form and character not so much exceeding the familiar proportions of humanity, the architecture was adjusted to the same standard. This, doubtless, was one

chief cause of the difference in scale between the Egyptian and Greek temple.

The subject might be pursued much further. It might be observed that in Gothic architecture, where the building is dedicated to a Being who dwells not in temples made with hands, and whose presence there is rather shadowed forth by the whole character of the edifice than embodied in the tangible form of a statue, the structural necessities are supreme; the painting and sculpture are not, as in Greek buildings, works of art set in an architectural frame, but subordinate and accessory to the main design.

I have glanced for a moment at this relation between Architecture and Imitative Art, because the principle it involves is equally applicable to all cases where decoration is added to structure.

The Archaeologist cannot fail to remark how severe, in a true age of art, is the observance of this great Architectonic law,—how its influence pervades all design,—how the pictures on Greek vases, or the richly embossed and chased work of the medieval goldsmiths, are all adjusted to the form and surface allotted to them by an external necessity.

Having considered the greatest form of constructive art, Architecture, at such length, I have hardly time to do more than allude very briefly to the remaining material products of man comprised under the general term,—Monumental Evidence.

To attempt here to classify these miscellaneous antiquities would be as difficult as the classification of the various objects which may form part of the great Exhibition of 1851. The task which England has undertaken for 1851 is an Exhibition of the Industry of all nations at the present day; the object which Archaeology would achieve if possible, is not less than the Exhibition of the Industry of all nations for all time.

Wherever man has left the stamp of mind on brute-matter; whether we designate his work as structure, texture, or mixture, mechanical or chymical; whether the result be a house, a ship, a garment, a piece of glass, or a metallic implement, these memorials of economy and invention will always be worthy of the attention of the Archaeologist.

Our true motto should be—

HOMO SUM, HUMANI NIHIL A ME ALIENUM PUTO.

To collect the implements, weapons, pottery, costume, and furniture of races is to contribute materials not only to the history of mining, metallurgy, spinning, weaving, dyeing, carpentry, and the like arts, which minister to civilisation, but also to illustrate the physical history of the countries where these arts were practised.

The history of an art involves more or less that of its raw material ; whether that material is native or imported, has been turned to the best account, or misused and squandered, are questions ultimately connected with the history of finance, agriculture, and commerce, and hardly to be solved without constant reference to the Monumental Evidence of Archaeology. I will not detain you longer with this part of the subject ; those who wish to know why a spear-head or a stone hammer are as interesting to an Archaeologist as fossils to the Geologist, should visit the museum at Copenhagen, and read M. Worsaae's little work on Scandinavian antiquities, its result ;—should learn how the Etruscan remains in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican illustrate Homer,—and the remains of Pompeii in the Museo Borbonico present to us Roman life in the Augustan age.

I have endeavoured, in these remarks, to present to you an outline, however slight, of the whole subject-matter of Archaeology,—a sketch of its Oral, Written, and Monumental Evidence.

In treating of these three branches, my object has not been so much to explain how they may be severally best collected, classified, and interpreted, as to show by a few examples the historical results to which such previous labours, duly and conscientiously carried out, will lead ; the relation of Archaeology to History, as a ministering and subsidiary study, as the key to stores of information inaccessible or unknown to the scholar, as an independent witness to the truth of Printed Record.

I have said nothing of the qualifications required of the Archaeologist, the conditions under which he works, the instruments and appliances on which he depends. He who would master the manifold subject-matter of Archaeology, and appreciate its whole range and compass, must possess a mind in which the reflective and the perceptive faculties are duly balanced ; he must combine with the æsthetic culture of the Artist, and the trained judgment of the Historian, not a little

of the learning of the Philologer ; the plodding drudgery which gathers together his materials, must not blunt the critical acuteness required for their classification and interpretation, nor should that habitual suspicion which must ever attend the scrutiny and precede the warranty of archaeological evidence, give too sceptical a bias to his mind.

The Archaeologist cannot, like the Scholar, carry on his researches in his own library, almost independent of outward circumstances.

For *his* work of reference and collation he must travel, excavate, collect, arrange, delineate, decipher, transcribe, before he can place his whole subject before his mind.

He cannot do all this single-handed ; in order to have free scope for his operations he must perfect the machinery of museums and societies.

A museum of antiquities is to the Archaeologist what a botanical garden is to the Botanist ; it presents his subject compendiously, synoptically, suggestively, not in the desultory and accidental order in which he would otherwise be brought in contact with its details.

An Archaeological Society gives corporate strength to efforts singly of little account ; it can discover, preserve, register, and publish on a far greater scale, and with more system, than any individual, however zealous and energetic.

A society which would truly administer the ample province of British Archaeology should be at once the Historian of national art and manners, the Keeper of national record and antiquities, the *Ædile* of national monuments.

These are great functions. Let us try, in part at least, to fulfil them. But let us not forget that national Archaeology, however earnestly and successfully pursued, can only disclose to us one stage in the whole scheme of human development—one chapter in the whole Book of human History—can supply but a few links in that chain of continuous tradition, which connects the civilised nineteenth century with the races of the primeval world,—which holds together this great brotherhood in bonds of attachment more enduring than the ties of national consanguinity, more ennobling even than the recollections of ancestral glory,—which, traversing the ruins of empires, unmoved by the shock of revolutions, spans the abyss of time, and transmits onward the message of the Past.





Pinnacles of the Tower: as restored by Mr. J. C. Buckler.

REMARKS ON THE CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN,
OXFORD.

THE few historical notices of St. Mary's Church which are to be produced on the present occasion have no claim to the credit of originality. They are principally derived from sources of information which are universally accessible, and scarcely deserve to occupy your time, except so far as they may serve for an appropriate introduction to some observations on the fabric, for which I am indebted to the kindness of the accomplished architect¹ now employed in effecting the restoration of the Tower and Spire.

The original foundation of St. Mary's Church has been referred by an ancient and certainly not incredible tradition to the great King Alfred.

It is alleged that when, on the resuscitation of the University after its devastation by the Danes in the ninth century, that prince erected Schools of Grammar, of Arts, and of Theology within the walls of Oxford, the place of conferring degrees, and celebrating other public acts of the University, was transferred from its former situation, where St. Giles's Church now stands, to the Church of St. Mary the Virgin;² so called, as the learned President of Trinity College has observed, in contradistinction to the still earlier foundation of St. Frideswide's, which in the most ancient documents is denominated, not St. Frideswide's, but St. Mary's "prope Tamesin."³

John Rous, or Ross, a Chantry Priest of Guy's Cliff in the county of Warwick, who wrote about the middle of the fifteenth century, under the name of "Johannes Rossus," states that, "In prima dictæ Universitatis fundatione ipse nobilis Rex Aluredus infra Urbis Oxoniæ mœnia Doctores in Grammatica, Artibus et Theologia tribus locis in nomine Sanctæ Trinitatis ex suis sumptibus instituit;" and elsewhere observes that "Ecclesia Sancti Egidii, sub nomine cujusdam alterius sancti dedicata, erat locus creationis Gra-

¹ J. C. Buckler, Esq.

² Peshall, 55.

³ Memorials of Oxford, vol. iii.

duatorum, sicut modo est Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ infra muros.”⁴

In like manner, also, Brian Twyne, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, in his work published in 1608, under the title of “*Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis Apologia*,” quotes from the Chronicles of Hyde Abbey: “*Quæ Universitas Oxoniæ quondam erat extra portam Borealem ejusdem urbis, et erat principalis Ecclesia totius cleri Ecclesia Sancti Egidii extra eandem portam : modo vero est Ecclesia principalis cleri Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ infra eandem urbem.*” “*Sic* (he proceeds) *Hydense Chronicon, quod cum Rosso tum Burlæo multo antiquius est.*”⁵ The Burlæus alluded to being Walter Burley, a Fellow of Merton College, in 1305, described by Twyne as “*Edwardi Regis tertii præceptor longe doctissimus,*”⁶ and so highly esteemed by the Parisian schoolmen as to have been honourably designated by them as “*Doctor planus et perspicuus.*”⁷

Whatever be the truth of the popular tradition which ascribes the foundation of St. Mary's Church to Alfred, the earliest authentic recognition of its existence is found in the Domesday Survey. In that record it is stated that, “*Ad terras quas tenet Albericus Comes, pertinet una Ecclesia et tres mansiones ; harum duæ jacent ad Ecclesiam Sanctæ Mariæ, reddentes xxviii.*”^a

Mention is frequently made of this Church in ancient writings as belonging to the king.

In a charter of the early part of the reign of King John an annual payment of xxxii^d. out of its lands was confirmed to the Church of St. Mary, the rector thereof, and his successors.

In an inquisition in the 13th of Edward I., the Church of St. Mary is stated to be in the gift of the king, and of the annual value of thirty marks.

At one time it appears to have been styled a Deanery ; John of Oxford, the well-known partisan of King Henry II. in his contest with Becket, and subsequently Dean of Salisbury and Bishop of Norwich, being reported to have held it under that title. It remained in the patronage of the Crown until King Edward II., on April 26, 1326, appropriated it to his new College of Oriel. At that time a Vicar was appointed

⁴ Hist. Angl., p. 77.

⁵ Twyne, 122.

⁶ Ibid., 121.

⁷ Wood, Annals, i., 213.

with an annual stipend of 104 shillings, subsequently augmented by Henry Burwash, or de Burghersh, Bishop of Lincoln, to 110 shillings.⁸

But though the patronage of this church pertained to the king from the earliest times of which we have any account, the ancient tradition that it has also always been the principal church of the university—"principalis Ecclesia totius cleri Oxoniensis"—is supported by the authority of many ancient records. A bond for 200*l.* granted by the Chancellor and Masters of the University of Oxford, under their common seal, to the Prior and Convent of St. Frideswide, as security against the exercise of jurisdiction by the former over the latter, bears date "at Oxford, in our House of Congregation, on the Feast of St. James the Apostle (25th July) in the year of our Lord one thousand two hundred and one, the third year of King John." This document Twyne supposes to have been given in the House of Congregation in or by St. Mary's Church, and adds that there are many instances of acts passed and decreed by the Masters of the University in the same church during the succeeding reign of Henry III.⁹

On the 30th December, 1274, the third year of King Edward I., Letters Patent were granted for the appointment of a Chaplain in the Church of St. Mary. It is there said, "*Cum igitur dilecti et fideles nostri Cancellarius et Universitas Villæ nostræ Oxonii (ubi suum posuerunt Trivium et Quadrivium fundamenta, ubi fons scaturit Theologicæ facultatis, ac ubi nudæ animæ filiorum hominum, venientium de longinquis, philosophiæ vestibibus induuntur) in Ecclesia Beatæ Virginis, dicti loci, Capellaniam quandam deliberatione sancta nuper et provida duxerint statuendam, &c.*"¹ The expression "*philosophiæ vestibibus induuntur*," appears to allude to the investiture of Graduates with the proper habits of their several degrees, and confirms the statement quoted above from John Rous, that "*Ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ infra muros erat locus Creationis Graduatorum.*"

The termination of the controversy which took place in the fifth or sixth year of King Edward II. with the preaching friars concerning theological degrees, indicates the same conclusion. The disputations termed Vespers, and other scholastic exercises, which the friars had claimed the privilege

⁸ Peshall, 56.

⁹ Twyne, 234, 235.

¹ Rymer, ii., 43.
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of performing in their own houses, were then peremptorily transferred to the Church of St. Mary as the place of performing them for all academical persons. And to this it may be added that in a composition between the Chancellor, Proctors, and Masters of the University, and the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, in the year 1409, it is rehearsed that the building called the Old Congregation House, on the north side of the chancel, belonged to the University before the appropriation of the Church to Oriel College, and even before the memory of man ; "*necnon per tempus et tempora cujus contrarii memoria non existit* ;" and that the Congregation of Masters had been solemnly held there from all antiquity.²

The right and interest of the University in the Church of St. Mary has also been exhibited on several occasions when they have taken upon themselves the charge of repairing the fabric. The most signal example of this kind took place in the early part of the reign of Henry VII., when, after it had been for some time in a ruinous condition, the whole edifice, except the tower and spire, a small portion eastward of the tower, and some portions of the chapel to the westward of the tower, commonly called Adam de Brome's Chapel, was entirely rebuilt, as it now stands, by means of funds supplied by themselves, or obtained by the assistance of their friends.³

In a MS. volume preserved in the University archives, endorsed, "*Registrum continens diversas Epistolas, &c., ab anno Domini, 1422, ad annum 1508,*" upwards of fifty letters are recorded, which were addressed to the king, and to various prelates and other persons, whose assistance was solicited during the prosecution of this work, from the year 1486 to the year 1490.

The series commences with the appointment of one Stephen Browne (who, if we may judge from the compliments paid him, was a person held in great esteem,) to be the Proctor of the University, for the purpose of making application to those who were likely to become contributors, and of collecting their benefactions.

As this letter is not a long one, I will here introduce it as a specimen of a correspondence which at least had the merit of producing considerable influence upon those to whom it was addressed ; for the appeal was answered with a libe-

² Ex orig. Arch. Univ.

³ Peshall, 56.

rality which provided sufficient funds for the erection of the noble nave and aisles of the present Church, the reconstruction of the Chapel of St. Mary, commonly called Adam de Brome's Chapel, and for repairing and altering the building eastward of the tower, comprising the old Congregation House and present Law School.

The nature and objects of Stephen Browne's commission are thus expressed :—

“Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, Johannes permissione divina Lincolniensis Episcopus,⁴ Universitatis Oxoniensis Cancellarius, cœtusque Regentium universus in eadem, Salutem in Omnium Salvatore. Cum nos, Cancellarius et Regentes ante dicti in nostræ Congregationis Domo nuperrime congregati, constructionem Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, ubi antiquitus [actus nostri] solennes et jam indies per nos celebrantur, sedulo curaremus; cum que etiam nostræ facultates ad ea perficienda opera minus sufficerent; dilectum nobis in Christo Stephanum Browne nostrum procuratorem constituimus per præsentem, ad intercedendum et interpellandum nostros benefactores, petendum et recipiendum pro nobis et in nomine nostro quicquid nostri benefactores ad idem opus elargiri dignabuntur. Vobis igitur humillime supplicamus, quatenus nostræ paupertati compatientes, ipsum ad nostrorum negotiorum declarationem admittere, nobisque in tantis negotiis succurrere dignemini intuitu caritatis. Dat. Oxon. in nostræ Congregationis Domo sub sigillo nostro Communi A°. Dni M°. CCCC^{mo} octogesimo sexto, die mensis Februarii Vicesimo Sexto.”

The letters which follow, and with the delivery of which it would appear that Stephen Browne was entrusted (for he is shortly afterwards again written to, thanked for his past services in this behalf, and requested to continue them), are addressed to a great variety of persons: such as King Henry VII.; John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury; the Bishops of Ely, Winchester, Exeter, Llandaff, Hereford, Rochester, Norwich, and St. David's, and the Executors of the Bishop of Coventry;⁵ the Deans of Lichfield and Hereford; the Archdeacons of Hereford and St. " " the Abbots of Glastonbury, Fountains, Evesham

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rality which provided sufficient funds for the erection of the noble nave and aisles of the present Church, the reconstruction of the Chapel of St. Mary, commonly called Adam de Brome's Chapel, and for repairing and altering the building eastward of the tower, comprising the old Congregation House and present Law School.

The nature and objects of Stephen Browne's commission are thus expressed :—

“Universis Sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ filiis ad quos presentes literæ pervenerint, Johannes permissione divina Lincolniensis Episcopus,⁴ Universitatis Oxoniensis Cancellarius, cœtusque Regentium universus in eadem, Salutem in Omnium Salvatore. Cum nos, Cancellarius et Regentes ante dicti in nostræ Congregationis Domo nuperrime congregati, constructionem Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ, ubi antiquitus [actus nostri] solennes et jam indies per nos celebrantur, sedulo curaremus ; cum que etiam nostræ facultates ad ea perficienda opera minus sufficerent ; dilectum nobis in Christo Stephanum Browne nostrum procuratorem constituimus per præsentes, ad intercedendum et interpellandum nostros benefactores, petendum et recipiendum pro nobis et in nomine nostro quicquid nostri benefactores ad idem opus elargiri dignabuntur. Vobis igitur humillime supplicamus, quatenus nostræ paupertati compatientes, ipsum ad nostrorum negotiorum declarationem admittere, nobisque in tantis negotiis succurrere dignemini intuitu caritatis. Dat. Oxon. in nostræ Congregationis Domo sub sigillo nostro Communi A°. Dni M°. CCCC^{mo} octogesimo sexto, die mensis Februarii Vicesimo Sexto.”

The letters which follow, and with the delivery of which it would appear that Stephen Browne was entrusted (for he is shortly afterwards again written to, thanked for his past services in this behalf, and requested to continue them), are addressed to a great variety of persons : such as King Henry VII. ; John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury ; the Bishops of Ely, Winchester, Exeter, Llandaff, Hereford, Rochester, Norwich, and St. David's, and the Executors of the Bishop of Coventry ;⁵ the Deans of Lichfield and Hereford ; the Archdeacons of Hereford and St. Paul's ; the Abbots of Glastonbury, Fountains, Evesham, Gloucester,

⁴ John Russell, the first perpetual Chancellor of the University, was translated from the See of Rochester in 1480, and died in 1494.

⁵ Lichfield and Coventry.

of performing in their own houses, were then peremptorily transferred to the Church of St. Mary as the place of performing them for all academical persons. And to this it may be added that in a composition between the Chancellor, Proctors, and Masters of the University, and the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, in the year 1409, it is rehearsed that the building called the Old Congregation House, on the north side of the chancel, belonged to the University before the appropriation of the Church to Oriel College, and even before the memory of man ; "*necnon per tempus et tempora cujus contrarii memoria non existit* ;" and that the Congregation of Masters had been solemnly held there from all antiquity.²

The right and interest of the University in the Church of St. Mary has also been exhibited on several occasions when they have taken upon themselves the charge of repairing the fabric. The most signal example of this kind took place in the early part of the reign of Henry VII., when, after it had been for some time in a ruinous condition, the whole edifice, except the tower and spire, a small portion eastward of the tower, and some portions of the chapel to the westward of the tower, commonly called Adam de Brome's Chapel, was entirely rebuilt, as it now stands, by means of funds supplied by themselves, or obtained by the assistance of their friends.³

In a MS. volume preserved in the University archives, endorsed, "*Registrum continens diversas Epistolas, &c., ab anno Domini, 1422, ad annum 1508,*" upwards of fifty letters are recorded, which were addressed to the king, and to various prelates and other persons, whose assistance was solicited during the prosecution of this work, from the year 1486 to the year 1490.

The series commences with the appointment of one Stephen Browne (who, if we may judge from the compliments paid him, was a person held in great esteem,) to be the Proctor of the University, for the purpose of making application to those who were likely to become contributors, and of collecting their benefactions.

As this letter is not a long one, I will here introduce it as a specimen of a correspondence which at least had the merit of producing considerable influence upon those to whom it was addressed ; for the appeal was answered with a libe-

² Ex orig. Arch. Univ.

³ Peshall, 56.

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Bury, Hayles, St. Alban's, and Tewkesbury; the Priors of Merton and Coventry; several ecclesiastics of inferior rank to the dignitaries here enumerated, and numerous private individuals of whom nothing is recorded but their names. But the circulation of these letters probably extended far beyond those whose names are specifically mentioned, and much exceeded the number of the copies recorded in the before named Register; for not only does it appear that the same letters were sent to several persons, whose names are set against them (such, for example, as one and the same to the Abbots of Evesham, Gloucester, and Bury; one in like manner to the Abbots of Hayles, St. Alban's, and Tewkesbury, and one to the Vicar of Ilminster, "*cum duobus aliis*"); but others have no superscription, the person being addressed as, "*Honorande Rector,*" "*Vir humanissime,*" or "*Dilecte Confrater;*" compellations which, it may be hoped, would suit so many persons, that the letters which bear them, as well as some others which have no address either within or without, may reasonably be supposed to have been circulars, sent, according to the practice (though without the facilities) of the present day, to all those whose connection with the University was such as to furnish a presumption of their interest in the promotion of the work.

Though the nature of such letters does not admit of much variety, no two of them are precisely similar. In all, however, stress is laid upon the ancient interest of the University in St. Mary's Church, as the place where its public acts had been honourably celebrated from time immemorial.

The ruinous condition of the fabric is described in many different particulars. In one of the letters it is represented that "the leaden plates of the roof had become so thin that it would cost no small sum to replace them, and that if any one could only see it, during rain, he would be quite distressed at being utterly unable to find in it any place that would afford him shelter."⁶

The king is told that "without the supplies of timber, for which their thanks were due to him, and the assistance that had been derived from other quarters, no place would have long remained for the respectable celebration of any Scholastic Acts."⁷

Another correspondent is told that the Church of

⁶ No. 338.

⁷ No. 352.

St. Mary is so near destruction that "it must shortly fall to the ground, if the hands of artisans be not employed in counteracting the effects of its decay;"⁸ and to another it is described to be in such a state, "*ut ruinæ potius quam statui merito dici judicarique possit.*"⁹

To John Alcock, Bishop of Ely, it is urged, that, "if Scholastic Acts are for the future to be celebrated in this church, '*non modo in aliqua ejus parte extruere, verum totam ipsam Ecclesiam (lapideos tantummodo muros excipimus) de novo ædificare necesse erit.*'"¹ And in like manner the Bishop of Winchester is, in the letter addressed to him, informed, that "the church is so seriously affected by the great age of its beams, and of all other things, which no buildings can be firm or durable without, that it would often be enough to frighten any who might chance to enter it during a storm."²

All alike complain of the deficiency of the necessary funds for effecting the desired restoration. To the king it is represented, "that the means of the petitioners were insufficient to meet charges of such magnitude, and that if they were to lay out far more than they possessed on so large an edifice, they could scarcely hope to carry even the smallest portion of it to completion."³

The archbishop is informed, that "the pecuniary means of the University were much reduced, as well from the recent erection of the New Divinity School at a very great expense, as from the paucity of distinguished persons who might replenish the academical coffers on their admission to degrees;" and it is also alleged, that "the parishioners being '*multum tenues*'—'*tam exiles et jejuni, ut ab aliis opes exigere quam ad hoc ædificium aliquas suas conferre malint,*' unless the petitioners would depart from the practice of their predecessors, they could not for the honour and credit of the University decline to undertake the burthen of rebuilding the Church."⁴

These letters, on which I fear that I have already dwelt too long, are of great interest and importance, not only because they exhibit the methods employed by our ancestors in the fifteenth century for the purpose of raising money for a public work of piety, but because they clearly illustrate the

⁸ No. 351.⁹ No. 357.
³ No. 351.¹ No. 361.⁴ No. 360.² No. 362.

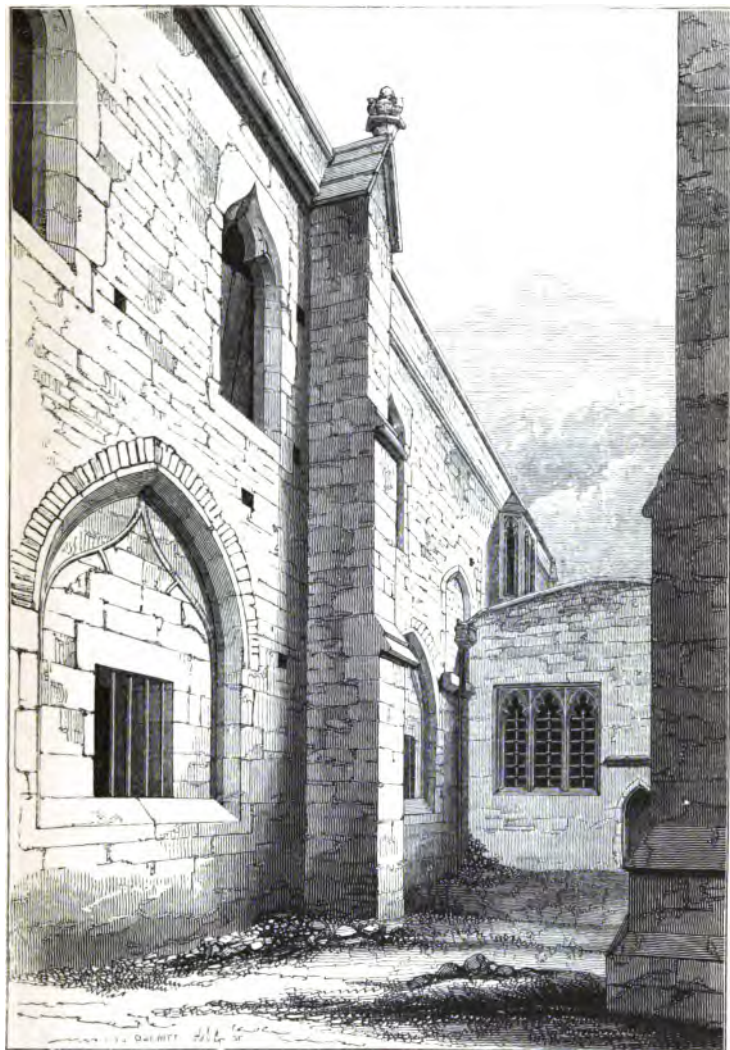
connection between the University and the Church of St. Mary, and confirm the proofs already advanced in order to show the great antiquity of that connection. Not only do they recognise the church as the place where Academical Acts were wont to be performed, but assume throughout that such acts had been there solemnised from remote antiquity, and that, in desiring to undertake the reconstruction of the ruined fabric, the University were only treading in the steps of their predecessors in all previous time.

Let it be hoped that the University may ever be animated by the same spirit of attachment to the noble monument of piety and zeal which their forefathers have bequeathed to them. The scholastic acts of the University are indeed no longer carried on within its walls ; but let us trust that the University of the nineteenth century, which the providence of God has blessed with more ample means than were in the possession of the University of the fifteenth century, will be no less ready to acknowledge the obligation of bestowing as much of them as may be required (so long, at least, as we are permitted to enjoy the use of our own) in maintaining the integrity, if we cannot increase the splendour, of an edifice commended to our admiration by its rare beauty, and to our affections by a long train of deeply interesting associations.

Of the five chapels formerly existing in this Church, respectively dedicated in honour of St. Mary, St. Catherine, St. Anne, St. Thomas, and St. Nicholas, all, except the first, which stands on the north side of the Church, and is commonly known by the name of Adam de Brome's Chapel, were swept away at the rebuilding of the Church. It is, therefore, scarcely worth while to detain you with any particular account of them, and I will proceed at once to mention the ancient structure to the north of the present chancel, called the Old Congregation House.

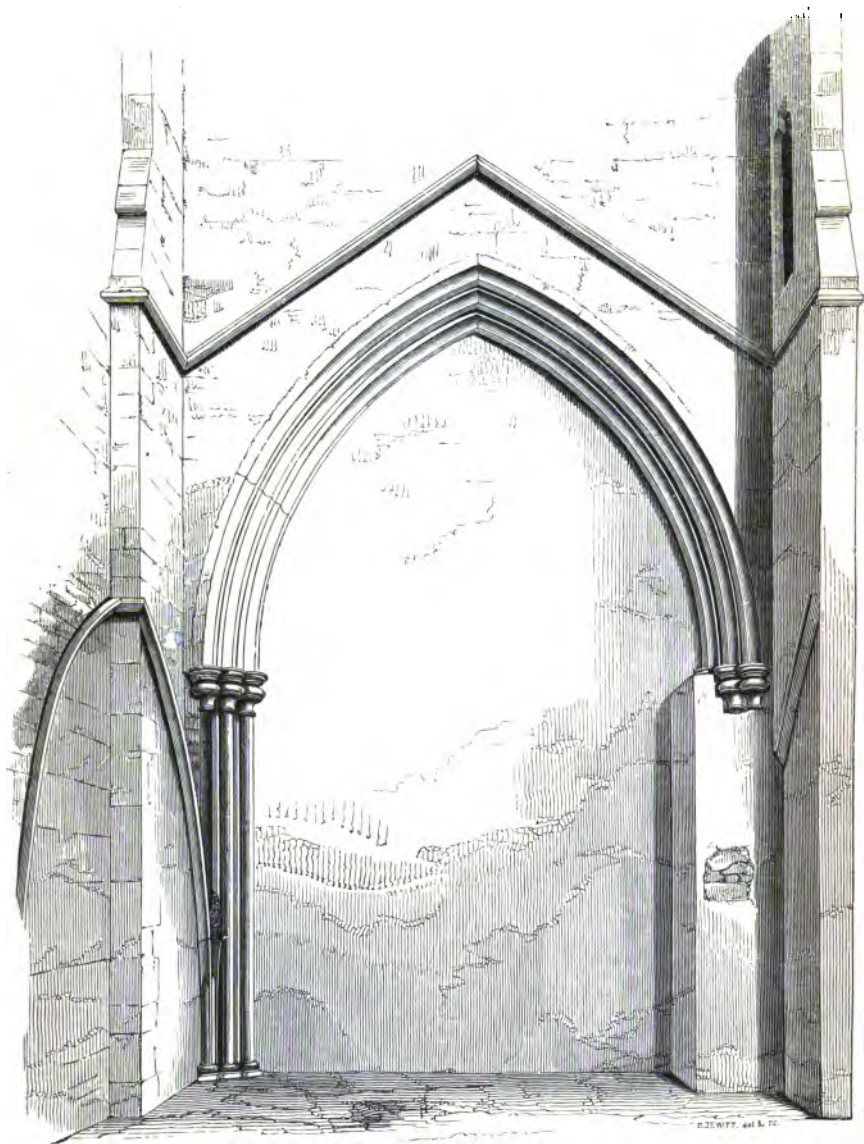
This building appears to have been consigned to the University, though not in its present state, at a very early period. The chirograph, or bond between the University and the Convent of St. Frideswide, executed in 1201, is supposed to have been dated from this place, under the name of "*Domus nostræ Congregationis*," and, as has been observed, it was claimed in 1409, as having belonged to the University for an indefinite period before the founda-

CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, OXFORD.



Southern side of the Old Congregation House.

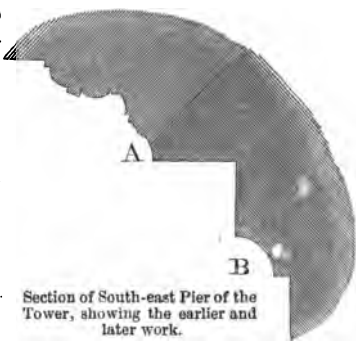
CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, OXFORD.



Arch on the East side of the Tower,
Showing the springing of the groining of the Old Congregation House, and the mass of masonry which covers
the entrance to the Staircase.

tion of Oriel College, and the appropriation of the Church to that Society. It consists of two apartments, one above the other, of which the lower one is divided into four bays vaulted and groined in stone; the easternmost bay being distinguished by a transverse rib of a similar section to that of the mullions of the spire windows, and having an ogee-headed piscina in the usual position, near the east end of the south wall. The date of its erection cannot be accurately ascertained. Some peculiarities in its construction, however, indicate a strong probability that it was not completed upon the same plan as that on which it was originally designed.⁵ Its architectural features closely correspond with those of the Tower, to the east side of which it was, as it appears, originally to have been attached. The water-table on the east wall of the Tower indicates the height to which it was intended to carry up the roof. But the roof of the building, as it was completed, is of considerably greater elevation than the water-tabling, and of a different pitch. It is also observable that there are traces of the commencement of a stone staircase adjoining the north-eastern buttress of the Tower, and apparently designed to lead to the outside of the roof. This staircase not only was not finished, but its entrance was walled up, and a solid piece of masonry carried up in the angle to the level of the capital of the piers, supporting the Tower arch. (See the accompanying illustration.)

The departure from the original plan, of which these particulars afford a very strong presumption, may be easily



Section of South-east Pier of the Tower, showing the earlier and later work.

⁵ The following note by the able architect now engaged on the restorations, Mr. J. C. Buckler, will serve to explain the curious combination of the later with the older work, as shown in the cut above:—

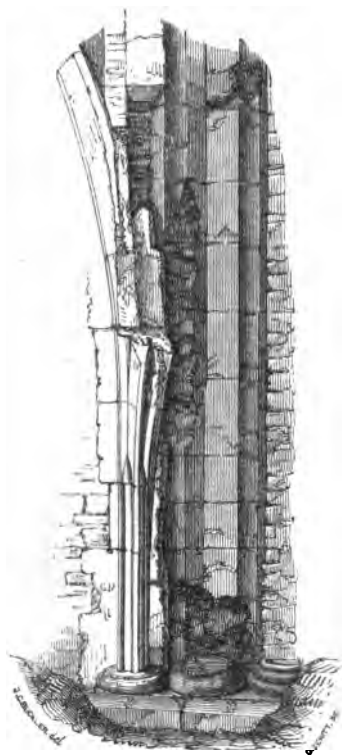
“I have completed the sketch I promised to forward to you. (See wood-cut next page.)

“It represents the dilapidated masonry of the south-east pier of the Tower of St. Mary's Church, and I have endeavoured to express by a tint of lighter shading the portion which, for the sake of the groining, was inserted in the somewhat

older work, with which it was so cleverly combined. You will readily observe the havoc of columns and bases, which was made in order to prepare the way for the springer of the arched and vaulted chamber.

“The hollow moulding A originally corresponded with B, but only a portion of it remains. The column in the angle between A and B was removed, but, as you will observe, the base was left, as were also other bases, one of which formed a sure foundation for the slender pillar of the groining.”

accounted for. About the year 1320, Thomas Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, is related by Anthony Wood to have



South-east Pier of the Tower, showing the insertion of the vaulting rib into the older work, which is here shown of a darker colour.

begun to build (or at least to make some preparations for building) a Library over the old Congregation House in the churchyard of St. Mary's. The style of its architecture proves that the building now under consideration was reconstructed from the ground about, or not long before that time; and the preparations ascribed to Bishop Cobham may well have consisted in the adaptation of the building, completed soon after his death in 1327, for the reception of the "Solarium," or upper story, in which his books were afterwards deposited, on the conclusion of the controversy concerning the title to this edifice between the University and Oriel College in 1409. The ancient entrance to the upper story is still visible in a broad pier on the south side. The

aperture is walled up, and by what means its elevated sill was approached must be left to conjecture, the steps or platform having been destroyed when the alteration which produced the present chancel was made.

The ancient approach at the western extremity is not very easily made out; but access appears to have been gained from the rood-loft by an ante-room, built subsequently to the Church, within the court between the Congregation House and chancel, with a connecting passage on the west side of the Turret staircase, which at this position ascends from the ground to the roof over the nave.

This building has been sometimes called the Chapel of St. Catherine, probably from the proximity of St. Catherine's

altar, which is said by Wood to have been situated "at the bottom of the stairs leading from St. Mary's Church up to the said Library, and at which a priest was appointed to celebrate in every quarter of a year three masses of the Holy Ghost, and as many 'de Requie,' for the good estate of all those, living or dead, who were contributors thereto."⁶ But without attempting any more minute investigation of its history, it may be enough to state, that in the composition between the University and Oriel College above referred to, it is described as "*Domus quædam in cimiterio Ecclesiæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis Oxoniensis, ex parte Boreali Cancelli situata Ecclesiæ supradictæ, Domus Congregationis Universitatis Oxoniensis vulgariter nuncupata, per quendam ab Universitatis quondam antiquo Scolarem, licentia prima legitima omnium quorum intersint (sic) in hac parte elemosinarie ædificata fuit et constructa per dictamque Universitatem, Cancellarium videlicet et Scholares, antequam dicta Ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ nobis et domui nostræ supradictæ fuerat appropriata, unita quomodolibet vel annexa, habita, possessa, in dispositioneque libera Universitatis ante dictæ, ante, citra, et continue in hunc diem recognitione præsentium, tam in parte inferiori quam superiori, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, una cum libero et perpetuo ingressu et egressu ad easdem cum potestate etiam libera aliam sive novam domum ibi, si voluerint et cum voluerint seu quicumque alius, seu quicumque alii, Universitatis intuitu voluerint vel voluerint, Cancellarius videlicet et Scholares antedicti construendi, &c.*"⁷

On the conclusion of this composition, when the upper chamber received the collections of books presented to the University by Bishop Cobham and other benefactors, the lower chamber was still employed as the House of Congregation. About the year 1480, the books were transferred to the new library, called after the name of its chief founder, Humphry, Duke of Gloucester, and the upper chamber was used by the University as another Congregation House, the two being distinguished as the Upper and the Lower House of Congregation. To this use both, and especially the upper chamber, were applied, until the completion of the present House of Convocation in the year 1640. The upper apartment was, about a century afterwards, converted into a

⁶ Wood, iii., 913.

⁷ Ex orig. Arch. Univ.

Lecture-room for the Vinerian Professor. The lower one was from that time disused and neglected; and notwithstanding its attractions as one of the most perfect and most interesting specimens of mediæval architecture in the University, it has long since served no more honourable purpose than that of an engine-house, and a receptacle for lumber.

In dismissing this part of the subject it may be proper to observe, that the members of Congregation were far too numerous to be accommodated within the narrow limits of this building. The ordinary meetings of Regents and non-Regents, which we now term Convocation, were held in the chancel of the Church; and at a Public Act, or "Generalis Inceptio," (whence the term "commencement," employed by the sister University,) the assembly was distributed, according to ancient custom, over six portions of the building; the non-Regents in the chancel; the Theologists in the Congregation House; the Decretists in St. Anne's Chapel; the Physicians in St. Catherine's; the Jurists in St. Thomas's; and the Proctors with the Regents in the Chapel of St. Mary.⁸

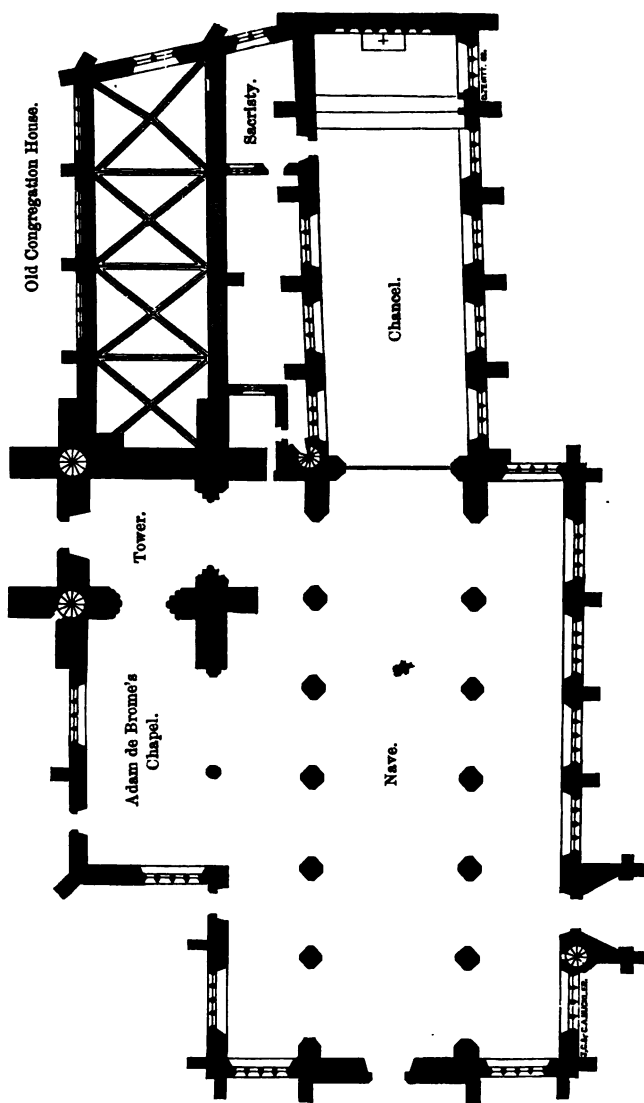
The rebuilding of the Church was completed in 1492; the chancel having been erected some years earlier by (or at least at the cost of) Walter Lyhert, or Hart, Provost of Oriel, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich; who died in 1472.

Of the architect of the nave and aisles I know not that we may speak with certainty. The President of Trinity believes that Sir Reginald Bray, who was High Steward of the University from 1494 to 1509, was the author of this work. It may have been so, but the only evidence advanced for it is, that he is known to have given forty marks towards the rebuilding of the Church, and that his arms with all his quarterings, impaled with those of his wife, once ornamented one of its windows. Something may also be ascribed to the well-known reputation of Sir Reginald Bray for skill in architecture; and whether the erection of the present Church be rightly referred to him or not, we may at least say that the credit of the work would detract nothing from the fame which he has justly acquired by the splendid memorials of his taste and skill, to be seen at Great Malvern and at Windsor.⁹

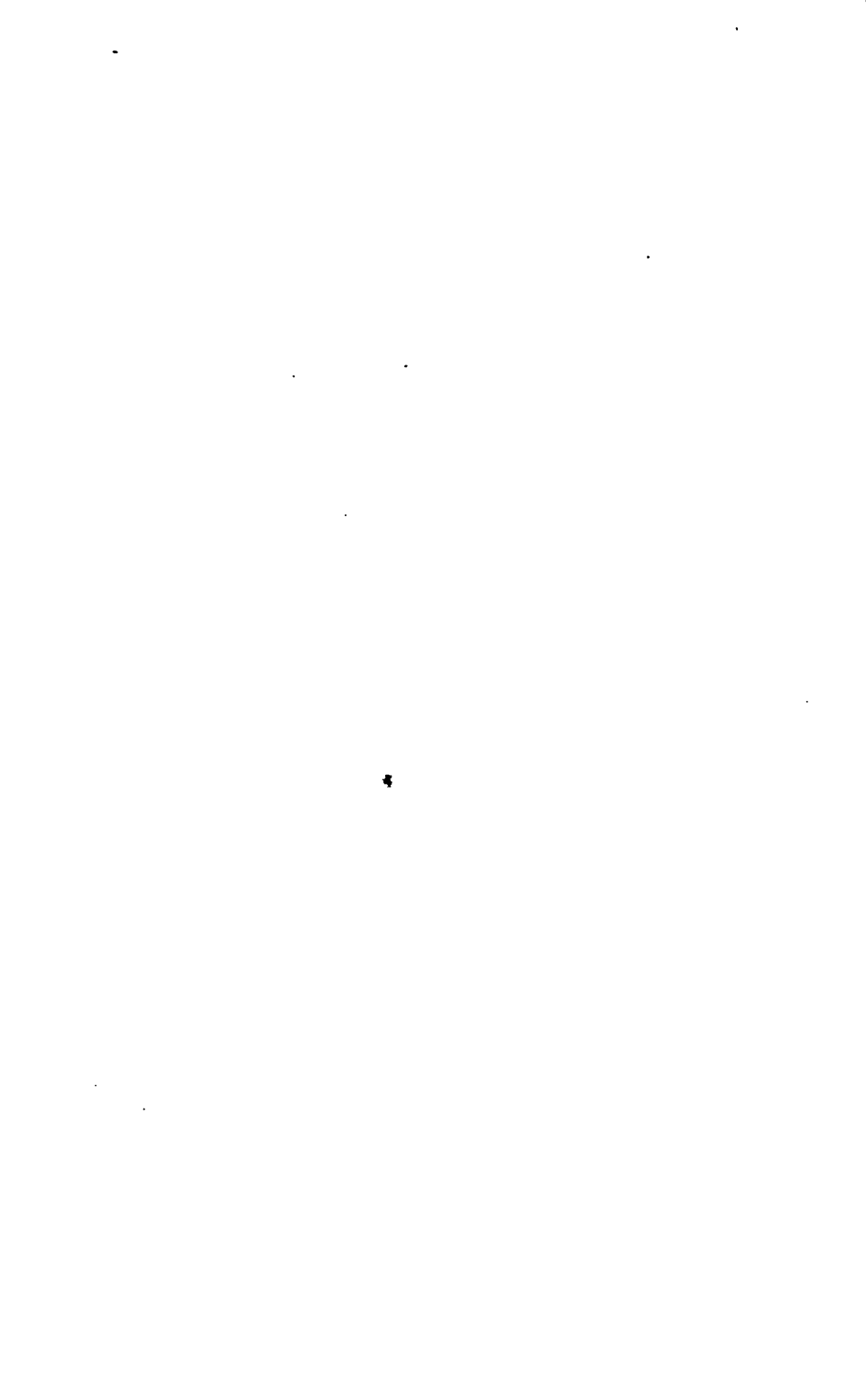
But whoever the architect of the new buildings may have

⁸ Memorials, 3.

⁹ Memorials, 3.



Ground Plan of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin, Oxford.



been, the Church has not come down to our times in the state in which he left it. A few years after its completion in 1492, it suffered severely from a storm, the effects of which have never yet been fully repaired. All the allusions to this event that I have been able to discover, are little more than repetitions of a note by Leland, who in his Itinerary remarks, that "The University Church in Oxford, alias St. Mary's, was begun to be re-edified in the time of Dr. Fitz James, after Byshope of London. He procuryd much mony towards the buyldinge of it. The embatylments of it were full of Pinnacles ; but in a tempestious wethar most part of them were thrown down in one night."¹

Leland began his Itinerary about the year 1538, and continued it for five or six years. As he does not say anything to indicate that the injuries which he describes were of recent occurrence, it may be presumed that they had taken place some time before he noted them. In the collections under the name of Holingshed, the last edition of whose Chronicles, during the author's life, was published in 1586, the same account is repeated almost word for word, with the additional circumstance, that the occurrence happened soon after the restoration of the edifice. "That of Oxford" he says, (meaning the University Church,) "also was repaired in the time of Edward the Fourth and Henry the Seventh, when Dr. Fitzjames, a great helper in that work, was Warden of Merton College,² but yer long after it was finished, one tempest in a night so defaced the same that it left but few Pinnacles standing about the Church and Steeple, which since that time have never been repaired."³

The time at which the reparation of these injuries was attempted, may be fixed with greater certainty. Dr. Plot, in his "Natural History of Oxfordshire," first published in 1677, observes that "there are many lofty spires about the country as well as city, built all of freestone, and of exquisite workmanship, such as those of Bampton, Witney, Burford, Bloxham, Spilsbury, Kidlington, &c. But that which excels all the rest is the spire of St. Mary's, in Oxford, the University Church, the battlements whereof were repaired, and thus set thick with pinnacles, as it now stands, by Dr. King,

¹ Itinerary, v. viii., fo. 113 b.

² Dr. Fitzjames was Warden of Merton from 1482 to 1507. ³

³ Holingshed, cap. v., p. 149.

then Dean of Christ Church, and Vice Chancellor of the University, afterwards Bishop of London.”⁴

Dr. King was Vice-Chancellor of the University from 1607 to 1610, and the architectural style of the pinnacles now standing on the body and chancel of the Church, as well as of those which have been recently removed from the base of the spire, corresponds so closely with the undoubted work of that period, as to leave no difficulty in the way of accepting Dr. Plot’s representation.

The material employed for the construction of the pinnacles put up in the time of Dr. King, being the perishable stone found in the neighbourhood of Oxford, they have become much decayed in the course of the two centuries and a half which have elapsed since their erection. This, in addition to many serious defects in the masonry of the upper portion of the tower, having rendered extensive repairs absolutely necessary, the charge of executing the required operations has, as of old, been undertaken by the University, and it is hoped that in a few months the whole will be completed.

The general admiration which this magnificent Church commands, and the familiarity with its general character of almost all whom I have the honour to address, forbid any attempt of mine to describe them. A few remarks, however, upon its chief architectural peculiarities, which I advance with greater confidence, because they are chiefly due to the accurate observation and practised judgment of the gentleman whose kind assistance I have already acknowledged, will not inappropriately close this communication.

It is evident that the present Church, with its noble

⁴ The following extract from Hearne’s *Diary* is deserving of notice:—

“On Tuesday last, being the 9th of May, St. Mary’s (Oxford) weather Cock fell down, as the great Bell was ringing at 9 o’clock in the morning for a Congregation. It had been loose for some time. The Cock fell upon the Church, the tail into the Churchyard. Upon this tail was fastened a piece of Lead, on which was this Inscription:—

THOMAS BOWMAN	CHURCHWARDENS
THOMAS ADAMS	
GEORGE WEST	ELECT CHURCHWARDEN
THIS STEEPLE WAS REPAIRED	
AN. DOM. 1669	

Upon the Cock was also an Inscription,

but excepting here and there a letter, defaced, yet so as perhaps with pains the traces might be explained.

“I am told the repairs of the steeple cost about 53 lbs.

“Between 20 and 30 years since, I think nearer 30 years agoe, the said Steeple was new pointed by a man who was in many parts of England on the same account. He at that time took down the Weather Cock, and ’twas mended, and afterwards he fixed it again.

“I afterwards heard, that that man was killed from some Steeple he was pointing, the rope breaking which drew him up in the Basket, or frame prepared for him.

“The oldest Church Rate for St. Marie’s is of the year 1509.”—*Hearne’s Diary*, 1734, 142, 78, 79.

dimensions and symmetrical design, owes its existence to the necessity of rebuilding the ancient structure.

The progress of enlargement by partial re-edification may be traced with considerable distinctness ; the tower and spire presenting architecture of more early date than is attributable to any other portion of the edifice.

The plan of the ancient structure, which preceded the present Church, cannot now be ascertained, but the remains of large windows on the east and west sides of the Tower evidently show that this conspicuous feature was originally intended to stand clear on three out of its four sides.

On the south side of the Tower, the condition of the buttresses proves that at a certain elevation they were formed upon walls extending southward to a distance now uncertain. When the old Church was pulled down to make way for the present structure, these walls, which had belonged to a part of the interior not admissible in the new plan, were removed ; such portions only being left as were required for the basement of the massive buttresses which rise to the parapet of the Tower. The steep pitch of the gabled roof of this member is shown by the water-table descending from its apex on the sloping sill of the belfry window on each side to the outer face of the walls or buttresses.

The altitude and width of this building lead to the supposition that its length was considerable ; but as nothing is known of the figure or extent of the earlier Church, it is impossible to conjecture the manner in which this transverse portion, in union with the Tower, was connected with it.

It is doubtful whether the original design of the Tower included a north door. The present entrance on that side is of very late date, and in a debased style. It is evident, that in order to its insertion, a portion of the ancient wall was taken out and rebuilt, and that the large window above it was considerably reduced in height, and its design materially impaired by the operation.

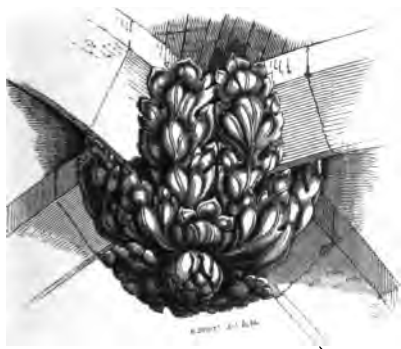
The present walls of the old Congregation House, and of the chapel westward of the Tower, both built in the reign of Edward the Second, are of the original construction ; but the windows on their north sides were inserted when the Church was rebuilt, and pinnacles were then added to their buttresses, in order to harmonise their design with that of the rest of the building.

Another most remarkable alteration, for the sake of obtaining uniformity, occurs in the old Congregation House. That building (as we have seen) is groined in stone, with a room of the same extent above it ; thus rendering windows in two tiers necessary. These still remain on the south side, where they owe their preservation to the obscurity of their situation ; they are also indicated in the lower room on the north side, but in order to destroy this character on the exterior, windows of large dimensions, with tracery, have been inserted, which are pierced for light in the upper room, but blanked between the mullions in the lower part to the exclusion of light from the apartment forming the lower story. On the south side the windows of the lower chamber are walled up. Those of the room above have sustained scarcely any injury ; but two of the number at the east end were destroyed in the fifteenth century, in order to the insertion of a bay window, which has since been rendered useless by the erection of the present sacristy.

The gradual development of a more extended plan, commenced in the earliest part of the fourteenth century, is very observable. But the intervals in carrying on the work allowed time for various changes in the styles of the architecture. Nearly two centuries elapsed from the erection of the Tower to the rebuilding of the chancel, of which the uncommon grandeur of proportion and studied simplicity have procured very general admiration, and have placed the genius which produced it in favourable comparison with that which a few years later designed and constructed the nave and aisles as they now stand. From east to west the low leaden roofs are concealed by parapets. The parapet of the chancel retains its original form ; that of the clerestory of the nave was enriched with panel work, of which some traces are still visible, but was neither embattled nor pierced. The buttresses are all terminated with pinnacles ; not one of which, however, is a specimen of original workmanship. Portions of several may be distinguished, and there is no difficulty in detecting those which were restored after the havoc made by the storm in the end of the fifteenth, or beginning of the sixteenth century, and others of more modern and less laudable design.

The windows in the five bays on each side of the chancel ascend from an elevated basement to the parapet in two

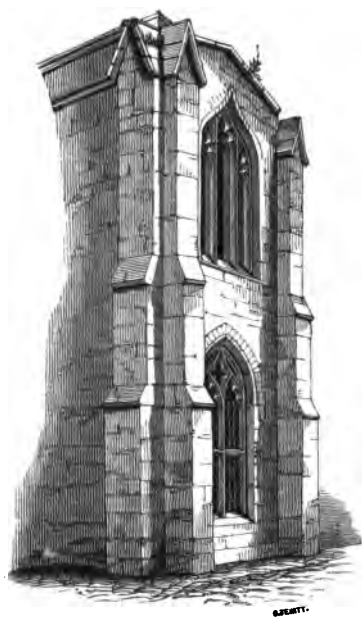
CHURCH OF ST. MARY THE VIRGIN, OXFORD.



Boss, in the Old Congregation House.

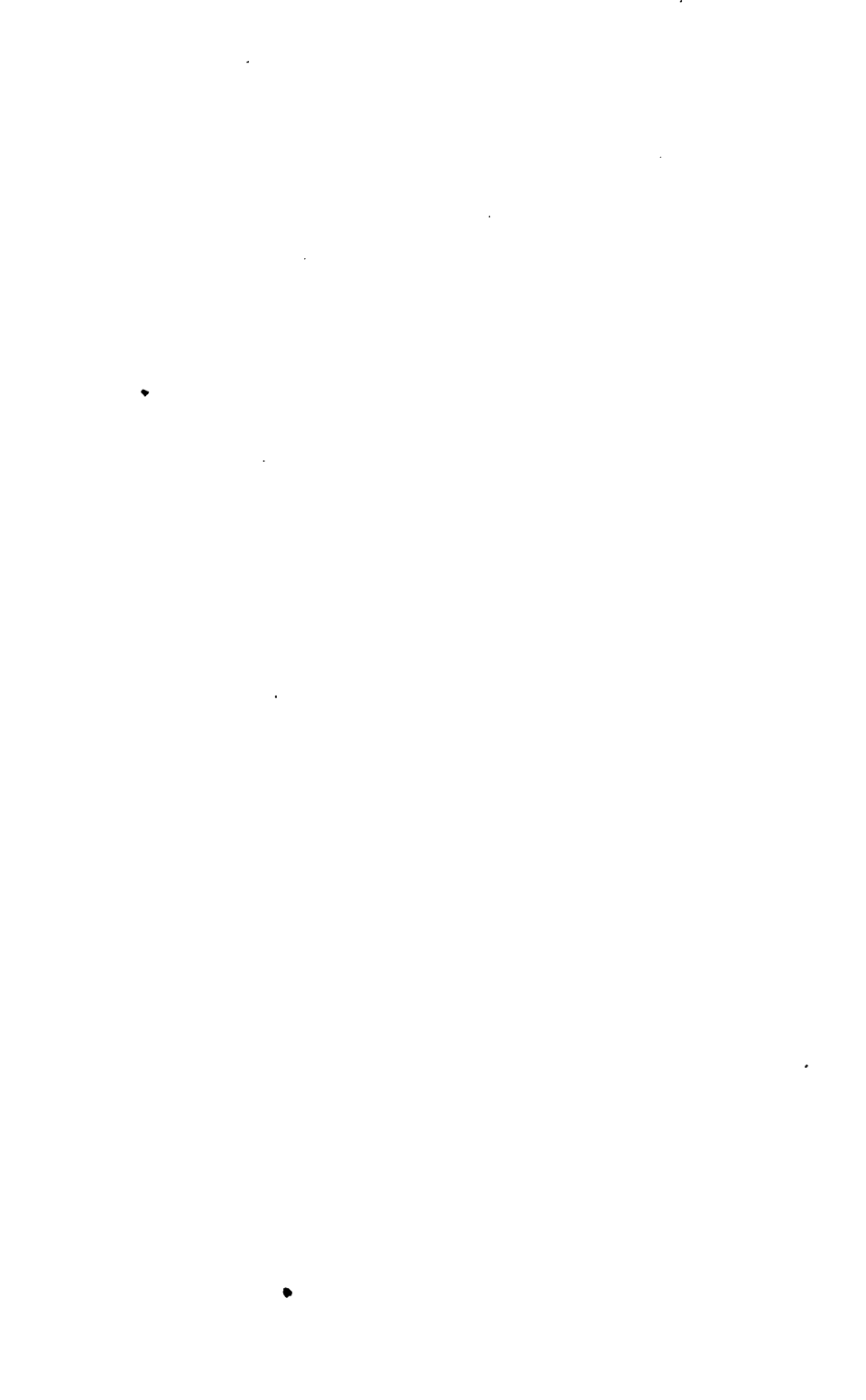


Piscina.



East End of the Old Congregation House.

(In this view the upper window has been opened, and the lower part of the lower window restored.)



tiers of triple compartments, divided by a transom. Internally, the wall below the uppermost window on the north side is recessed, and decorated with panelling which terminates upon a stone bench at the height of three feet from the present floor.

The east window is in seven compartments of one height, above an uniform series of niches forming the reredos.

The sedilia, occupying their usual position in the south wall, retain enough of their ancient enrichments to show that they were of equal excellence both in design and execution. Whether the south wall contains a piscina or an ambry to the east of the sedilia, cannot be ascertained without removing the modern wooden panelling by which it is at present concealed.

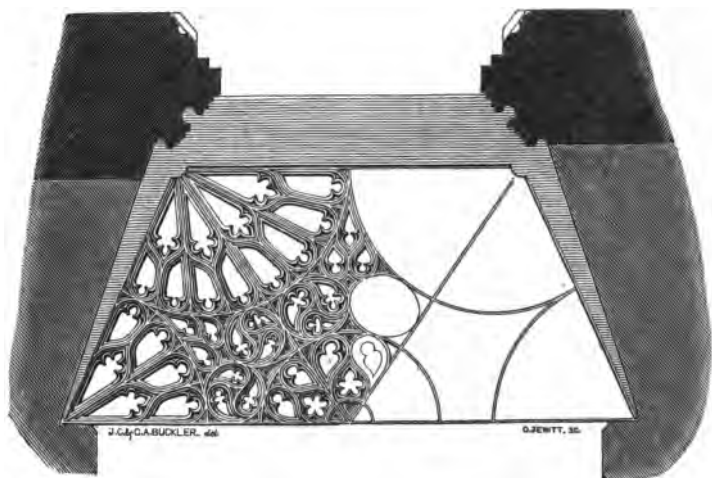
On the north side, a plain chamfered doorway communicates with a sacristy, which appears to have been introduced at a comparatively late period between the chancel and the old Congregation House. It is now disused and desecrated.⁵

The nave is of six bays, with aisles of equal width; a construction which in the west front exhibits an elevation of commanding character, and an admirable combination of appropriate architecture. But notwithstanding the admiration which has been justly bestowed upon this portion of the fabric, it must be admitted that, when compared with the chancel, it presents in the depression of the arches, in the management of the tracery in the clerestory windows, and in the treatment of some of the mouldings, some indications of that departure from the leading principles of the earlier styles which mark the progressive decline of mediæval architecture.

The porch which covers the principal entrance to the south aisle, no longer presents an exterior with any claims to admiration. It was erected in 1637, at the cost of Dr. Morgan Owen, chaplain to Archbishop Laud. The expense of its construction was 200*l.*, principally employed in producing ornaments, which do not contrast favourably with the delicate fan groining of its roof. It cannot be positively stated that this fan groining is of the same age as the part of the Church to which it is attached, but there are indications of contrivance in its adaptation to the present walls of

⁵ It is understood to be the intention of the parishioners to repair and restore his structure to its ancient use.

the porch, which serve to show that it was once a portion of an earlier structure, and has been re-applied to the position which it now occupies.



Plan of the Porch, showing the adaptation of the groining.

Notwithstanding some variations in design, there does not appear to be any great difference in point of age between the several roofs of the various parts of the Church. Those of the nave and chancel are constructed with arched timbers, and that in the room over the old Congregation House has been finished in a superior style with moulded ribs and carved bosses.

The ancient monumental remains of interest in the chancel are now limited to some slabs bearing inscriptions in Lombardic characters, the numerous gravestones having, with one exception, been entirely stripped of their brasses.

But in St. Mary's Chapel there is an altar tomb which will never be passed without notice, by those who believe it to cover the honoured remains of Adam de Brome.

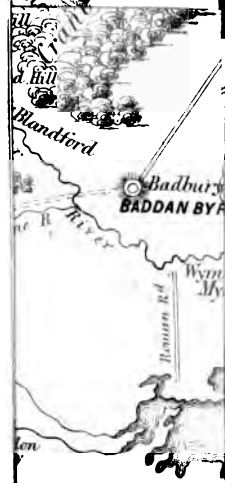
R. H.

Oxford, June 18, 1850.

The Central Committee would gratefully acknowledge the kind liberality of the Author of the foregoing Memoir, in presenting several of the Illustrations by which it is accompanied.

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VUM
AWAN CEATER



ON THE "BELGIC DITCHES," AND THE PROBABLE DATE OF
STONEHENGE.

THE lines of ancient earth-work, which in various parts of England intersect the country, seem to admit of a division into three classes,—British roads, Roman roads, and Boundary lines. When tolerably well preserved, these different kinds of earth-work may, in most cases, be distinguished from each other without much difficulty, and the British road appears as a ditch, with a low mound on each side of it, the Roman road as a mound simply, and the Boundary-line as a ditch, with a mound on one side only. As we have no reason to believe that the Britons constructed artificial roads before the arrival of the Romans, and as we know from Cæsar that the country was densely peopled, we might expect to find their lines of communication worn into hollows. The accumulations of filth and refuse, which would necessarily result from a large traffic, when thrown aside for the greater convenience of passage, would soon form continuous mounds, and perhaps the more readily, inasmuch as such mounds might, in certain localities, be usefully employed as fences. There are many bye-ways in the west of England, which, if turfed over, would be no unfair representatives of the British roads that still exist upon the downs of Wiltshire,

Our ancient boundary-lines seem also to admit of a three-fold division. There are, first, the boundary-lines, which defined the territories of the British tribes before the Roman Conquest; secondly, those which were made by the Romanised Britons; and thirdly, the march-dikes thrown up by our ancestors, after the English colonisation of the island. The last of these three classes has sometimes attracted the attention of the historian; but the second, though for several reasons particularly interesting, has not, I believe, been hitherto noticed; and, if we except the speculations of Stukeley and Warton with respect to the "Belgic ditches," I am not aware that even the ancient British boundary-lines have as yet been made the subject of critical investigation.

According to Stukeley, the Belgæ, as they gradually expelled the British tribes, who preceded them, constructed four

successive lines of defence¹—Combe-bank, Bokerly-ditch, the ditch immediately north of Old Sarum, and Wansditch. Warton supposes there were no less than *seven* of these ditches. He does not enumerate them, but he probably added to Stukeley's four, the Grims-ditch south of Salisbury, the ditches on Gussage Cow-down, which really appertained to the British post of Vindo-gladia, and the ditch which runs over Salisbury plain to the north of Heytesbury. Neither Warton nor Stukeley point out the districts which they suppose to have been marked out by means of these boundary-lines, and the proximity of the lines to each other, is adduced as a proof of the desperate resistance which the Belgæ had to surmount before they could effect their conquest. The resistance must have been desperate indeed, which contested the possession of a few miles of worthless down-land; and the love of property equally strong, which could think such an acquisition worthy of being secured at the expense of so much labour. There can be little doubt, that the number of these boundary-lines has been exaggerated not only by Warton, but even by Stukeley.

It may be asked, what right have we to assume that the Belgæ overspread the south of Britain, in successive waves of conquest, such as are pre-supposed in the hypothesis we are considering? The only ground for such a hypothesis that I am aware of, is contained in Cæsar's statement, "*maritima pars ab iis (incolitur) qui prædæ ac belli causâ ex Belgio transierunt, qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum adpellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eo pervenerunt, et bello inlato ibi remanserunt atque agros colere cœperunt.*"—*B. G.* l. 4. It may, perhaps, be inferred from this passage, that there was a succession of predatory inroads, some of which were followed by Belgic settlements; and when, in the district which we know to have been colonised by the Belgæ, we find successive lines of boundary evidently made by a people inhabiting the sea-board, to separate themselves from the tribes of the interior, it may, I think, be admitted that the

¹ That these ditches might occasionally throw impediments in the way of a party of freebooters is very possible, but that they were *military lines of defence*, like the Roman Walls in North Britain, or the Great Wall of China, is to the last degree improbable. Such lines of defence

would require an organised body of men to guard them, and the maintenance of such a force would be beyond the means of races only imperfectly civilised. The proper character of these ditches is clearly that of *boundary-lines*.

hypothesis advanced by Stukeley, and accepted by Warton, is, to say the least, not an unreasonable one.

If we attempt to trace the progress of Belgic conquest by the light of Welsh tradition, we shall be disappointed. The all but utter silence of the Triads, with respect to a people who fill such a place in history, is one of the most puzzling circumstances connected with these mysterious records. The Triad, which mentions the three "refuge-seeking tribes," tells us, that the first of these tribes came from Galedin, and had lands allotted to them in the Isle of Wight. Welsh scholars consider Galedin to mean the Netherlands;² and, perhaps, we may conclude, that, according to Welsh tradition, the Belgæ came as refugees to this country, and were first located in the Isle of Wight—driven, it may be, from their own country by some inundation of the sea, an accident which appears to have been the moving cause of several of those great migrations we read of in Roman history. It is clear from Cæsar, that for some centuries before Christ, the Belgæ were the most energetic and powerful—and among half-civilised races, this means the most aggressive—of the Gaulish tribes; and we can have little difficulty in supposing, that the fugitive Belgæ, with the aid probably of their continental brethren, might soon change their character of refugees into that of assailants. Of the inlets, opposite the Isle of Wight, by which the mainland could be assailed, Tweon-ea (now Christchurch), at the mouth of the Stour and Avon, appears to have been one of the most important in the earlier periods of our history. Here, it would seem, the Belgæ landed. The uplands in the neighbourhood are barren, but the vallies rich, and the Belgæ, we may presume, were soon in possession of the pastures along the Stour as far as the neighbourhood of Blandford. This town lies in a kind of defile, over which, at that period, the woodlands of Cranbourne Chase in all probability extended. At this wooded gorge the Britons seem to have held their own, and the course of Belgic conquest to have been diverted—in the direction afterwards followed by the Roman road and the modern railway—into the vallies of the Piddle and the Frome. We may now ask,

² This hypothesis would receive strong confirmation if we were justified in giving to the Belgic settlers of the south-east of Dorsetshire the name of *Morini*. But I believe our only authority for so doing is

a dictum of "Richard of Cirencester," and I will not insult the reader by quoting a patent forgery. I allude to Bertram's clever fabrication, merely to show the reader that I have not overlooked it.

whether there be any earthworks, which might serve as boundaries to the district we have thus marked out. In the first place, we observe between Holt-Forest and Cranbourne Chase, the well-known earthwork, called Bokerly-ditch, shutting in from the northward the rich valley drained by the Wymborne-brook. From Bokerly-ditch the boundary may have followed the outline of Cranbourne Chase, have crossed the Stour south of Blandford, and then run to the north-westward along Combe-bank. There was also, some years back, "in the road from Bindon to Weymouth, a great ditch, like Wansdike, for several miles."—*Hutchin's Dorset*, i., 217. No such ditch is now visible on this line of road, but after a long day's search, I succeeded by an accident in finding³ its mutilated remains between the Frome and Owre-brook. The bank was *to the eastward*, and I have little hesitation in regarding this dike as a portion of the western boundary of the first Belgic conquest. What course it took to join Combe-bank is, at present, only matter for conjecture; but there are reasons for believing, that fragments of it still exist in the neighbourhood of the Piddle river and its tributaries.

The second Belgic conquest may have included the downs of Hants and South Wiltshire. The narrow valleys that intersect the latter meet in the neighbourhood of Old Sarum (Sorbiodunum), which must always have been, what in military language might be termed, the *key* of the district. The Hampshire downs appear to have been called by the Britons the Gwent, or champaign. No natural frontier separates these two tracts of down, but their northern boundary is indented,

³ The dike ran nearly parallel to, and about one or two hundred yards west of "the bounds" which separated Owre from Galton. For nearly a mile it had been fashioned into shape, and formed a clay-fence some eight feet thick. A wide stretch of arable land succeeded, on which it had been levelled within the last two years by an improving landlord. Its traces, however, were sufficiently obvious, and by following them, and clambering over some terrible fences, I again lighted on the object of my search, and found it running over the common for nearly a quarter of a mile, in very fair preservation. It terminated before it again reached cultivated land. I presume there must formerly have been a tract of woodland in the neighbourhood.

As these boundary-lines are often difficult to find, it may save future investigators trouble, and prevent mistakes, to learn that there are some other curious earth-works a little to the westward, round Woodford Castle. The agger runs from the Frome due south for about a mile, then turns at right angles, and after running half-a-mile eastwards, returns to the river. The agger was thrown *outwards* from the ditch. I suppose this work to have been the boundary of a very ancient park. A slight fence on the top of the mound, with the aid of the interior ditch, would have effectually prevented the deer from escaping. I have seen instances of similar earth-works in Berkshire and elsewhere, which seem to admit of the same explanation.

as it were, by the highlands around "Scots Poor," from which the greater part of their extent is visible. To this point the country rises from the east and south, and also, though more slowly, from the west. On the southern and eastern slopes we still find large masses of woodland—Collingbourn-wood, Dole-wood, &c.—and there can be little doubt that these high and barren downs were once encircled with a belt of forest. This description may serve to show the importance of these heights as a landmark, and in some measure to explain the fact, that at the present day three counties, and some seven or eight parishes meet in the neighbourhood.

During a fortnight of rather inclement weather, I examined the country lying between Westbury and Ludgershall, and succeeded in finding most of the ditches described in the "Ancient Wiltshire." It is to be regretted, that Sir R. C. Hoare was not more alive to the importance of distinguishing between the trackway and the boundary-dike. His usual phrase "a bank and a ditch," more than once made me waste a day in searching for what proved, on examination, to be a mere drift-road. North of Heytesbury, however, I found an ancient boundary-line—one clearly of British origin, and *perhaps* anterior⁴ to the Roman conquest. I traced it from the west of "Knook Castle" to within a couple of miles of Tilshead, when it gradually died away in cultivated land. Ancient roads occasionally entered its ditch, more particularly at the salient angles,⁵ and its mound was broken and pierced in all directions by the trackways leading to the two British villages north of Knook Castle; but still, amid all the changes of two thousand years, its crest was seen stretching over the plain, and could be followed without the chance of a mistake. The next day I found "the Tilshead ditch," within little more than a mile from the spot where I had lost the

⁴ There are the sites of two British villages near the boundary line; and in a straggling portion of one of them, which lies beyond the dike, and which, therefore, must have been built after the boundary-line was *slighted* (to use a phrase of Cromwell's time), Sir R. C. Hoare found a stone-celt beside a skeleton. It is not probable that a primitive utensil like this was used after the arrival of the Romans; but the grave may have been there before the village extended itself beyond the agger.

Coins of Arcadius have been dug up among the ruins, but, I believe, no Saxon remains. We may conclude that the villages were burnt by the Saxon invaders, and never afterwards inhabited.

⁵ It may be worth observing that, just at the angle where the boundary line turns suddenly to the eastward, there lay a large stone on the top of the agger. I had not time to examine it minutely, nor even to chip off a fragment to ascertain the nature of the stone.

former one.⁶ It was a ditch with *two* mounds, and these gradually became lower as I traced it to the eastward, a mile or two beyond Tilshead. If this ditch be a continuation of the former one, I cannot satisfactorily account for its change of character.

I could find no remains of this Belgic boundary—if we may venture to give it such a title—north of Beacon Hill. Even "the unmutilated remains of a bank and a ditch," on Wick-down, turned out to be merely a deep ditch with a low mound on each side of it. But south of the hill, the Amesbury bounds presented appearances which strongly resembled those of an ancient earth-work, and we may be allowed to conjecture that they were once connected with the "Devil's Ditch," east of Andover, and with the boundary-line, a fragment of which still remains to the south of Walbury.

According to these speculations, the second Belgic boundary must have included the valleys of South Wiltshire, and then have swept round, so as to separate the downs of Hampshire from the woodlands which encircled Scots Poor. The hypothesis does not seem an unreasonable one, and I know of no other which can satisfactorily account either for the boundary-line to the north of Heytesbury, or for the lines which are found in the neighbourhood of Walbury and Andover.⁷

It will be seen that the writer differs from Stukeley in considering the first and second of his ditches as forming parts of one continuous boundary; and in denying altogether to the ditch which runs immediately north of Old Sarum, the character of a Belgic earthwork.⁸ Were this last

⁶ When these mounds approach the "Long Barrow," which lies about a mile from Tilshead, they turn at right angles, and after having half enclosed the mound, pursue their former course. Our best chance of explaining anomalies like these, would be a really critical edition of the "*Gromatici veteres*."

⁷ It may, perhaps, be said, that the lines near Walbury and Andover might have been the boundaries of a Belgic settlement, whose capital was Winchester; and which was united to its western neighbour before British geography was known to the Romans. But there is reason to believe that the State of the Southern Belgæ was not merely a political, but an ethnographical unity. The other Belgic districts, though politically united, are always spoken of as peopled by different races; but the classical writers,

whenever they speak of the Belgic Province, treat it as a whole.

It may be observed, that there are some ditches near Chisborough, which have not been inserted in the map. There can be little doubt that *four* distinct lines of boundary passed near that fortress, and to have noticed the remains of all these boundaries would have answered no good purpose, and would have made the plan much too complicated.

⁸ The period at which, and the purpose for which, this earth-work was constructed, were sufficiently discussed at Salisbury. Those who feel an interest in the matter may see what are the writer's views on this subject, by consulting the paper he has written for the Salisbury Volume on the "Early English Settlements in South Britain."

ditch made by the Belgæ, we must suppose, that although the invaders were strong enough to capture such a fortress as Old Sarum, they were not powerful enough to possess themselves of the valleys which it commanded—an inference which at once shows us the falseness of the premiss that led to it. With respect to the connection supposed to have existed between Combe-bank and Bokerly-ditch, it may be right to state, that I have not examined the course of Bokerly-ditch west of the Roman Road, and only cursorily the line of country which intervenes between the two earth-works. Combe-bank still crosses the down, in fine preservation, from the neighbourhood of Winterbourne Clenstone to Col-wood. For some distance it forms the boundary of this wood, and then enters it and disappears. My guide⁹ professed to trace the bank to the north of Mapperton, but I must confess that to my eyes it was invisible. Its course, however, when I last recognised it, pointed eastward in the direction of Badbury, which was full in sight, and about four miles distant. I felt a strong conviction that the information given to Leland (according to which it went to Lytchet Maltravers) was erroneous. It seemed to me clearly intended as a boundary to separate the Winterbourne valley from the bleak and swelling downs to the north-eastward, and to be as clearly connected with the great fortress, which lifted itself aloft on the other side of the Stour directly in our front. As Badbury commands the valley, where lay Vindogladia—which existing remains, as well as the Itineraries, point out as the capital of the district—and as Bokerly-ditch was obviously intended as the northern boundary of this valley, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that both Combe-bank and Bokerly-ditch were constructed as parts of one design, by the same people, and at the same, or nearly the same period. That people we may conjecture to be the Belgæ, and the period five or four, or, it may be, only three centuries before the Christian era.

The general consent of our antiquaries has fixed upon the Wansdike as the last of the Belgic boundaries. Were it called the last frontier of the Belgic province—understanding

⁹ His testimony must not be altogether rejected, as he has for years “cried the Courts” at the bank, and, therefore, may be considered as familiar with all the circumstances connected with it. After

proclamations duly made on this ancient earth-work, the courts are held in the valley at an old manor house, which lies some two miles from the bank.

by that phrase the district which the Roman geographers assigned to the Belgæ proper—I should be little disposed to quarrel with the conclusion they have come to. Nor would I venture summarily to dismiss even the suggestion of Stukeley, that it was Divitiacus who here fixed the limits of the Belgic dominion, though I may smile at the etymological trifling by which he endeavours to support his hypothesis. This Divitiacus, Cæsar tells us, had been King of the Suessones, and even in his time (*nostrâ etiam memoriâ*) the most powerful chief in all Gaul. He tells us also that Divitiacus had obtained a supremacy not only over a great portion of Belgic Gaul, but also over a great part of Britain—"qui quum magnæ partis harum regionum tum etiam Britannîæ imperium obtinuerit." By what steps he obtained this supremacy we are not told, but we may surmise that it was with his aid that the Belgæ pushed their conquests into the interior of the island, and that the *imperium* naturally followed conquests so extensive and important. The question remains, what was the locality and the real extent of these latter Belgic conquests. If, as is probable, the British king who opposed Cæsar belonged to the intrusive race, then the Belgæ must have obtained possession of the vale of Aylesbury, and the plains of Hertfordshire previous to the year 55, B.C.; and we may infer that they acquired these districts under the leadership of Divitiacus, for we do not learn that Verulam had fallen into the hands of Cassivelaunus by any recent act of conquest. There still exist some interesting lines of earthwork, which seem to have been made with a view to separate the new conquests from the country of the Trinobantes. They have been as yet only partially examined, and with very little intelligence; but as they are mixed up with another system of boundary-lines, it would require a more lengthened notice than our present limits will admit of to discuss this question satisfactorily.

It is possible that the same monarch who settled the boundaries of the Catyeuchlani—I give the word as it is usually written, without vouching for its correctness—may also have pushed forward the Belgic frontier to the Wans-dike. There are, however, difficulties in the way of such a conclusion which are calculated to shake our faith in the soundness of Stukeley's hypothesis. Every critical reader will, I think, admit that the Roman geographers and historians

looked upon the Belgic province as an organic whole, which might indeed have developed itself at successive periods, but was not a mere aggregation of separate and independent parts. With respect to the states lying north of the Audred—*i. e.*, of the great forest which spread over the wealds of Kent and Sussex—the case was different. The Cantii, the Attrebates, the Catyeuchlani were probably all three Belgic races ; and indeed, as regards the Attrebates, we are able to make this assertion positively. All three seem to have been subject to the *imperium* of Cassivelaunus, but there is nothing to lead us to the inference that the Southern Belgæ acknowledged his supremacy. As so few years separated the reign of this prince from that of Divitiacus, it is a reasonable presumption that he was, if not a descendant, at least a successor of the Gaulish monarch, and consequently that the limits of his dominion defined the British *imperium* of his great predecessor. If so, the course of conquest which Divitiacus traced out must have nearly coincided with that followed by later invaders—by Cæsar, by Plautius, and by the Norman William ; and consequently this celebrated Belgic chief could not have been the conqueror who reared the Wansdike.

This magnificent earthwork reached from the woodlands of Berkshire to the British Channel. Its remains have been carefully surveyed by Sir R. C. Hoare. The conquests it was intended to include, seem to have been, first, the Vale of Pewsey ; secondly, the mineral district of the Mendip Hills ; and, thirdly, the country lying between this range and the marshes of the Parret. Ptolemy gives us Winchester, Bath,¹ and Ilchester, as the three principal towns of the Belgic province. If we run a line along the Wansdike from Berkshire to the Channel, then along the coast to the Parret, then up that river eastward till we strike the southern borders of Wiltshire, and then follow the first Belgic boundary across Dorsetshire to the sea, we shall have defined, with tolerable accuracy, the northern and western boundaries, which Roman geographers assigned to the Belgæ proper.

¹ Bath is just without the Belgic boundary, and, therefore, could not have been a Belgic town. Ptolemy has, in other instances, assigned towns situated near a frontier to the wrong people ; thus he gives London to the Cantii. There are generally circumstances connected with the towns thus misplaced, which help us to explain the blunder ; we have reason

to believe that London had a suburb south of the river, even in the Roman times ; and the Belgic fortress on the Wansdike, which lay immediately above the hot baths, may very probably have led the geographer into making the misstatement that has given rise to the present note.

It will be seen that the Wansdike bends to the south, as if to avoid Avebury, and approaches close to, but does not include, Bath. It seems reasonable to infer, that when the line of demarcation was drawn; the Dobuni insisted on the retention of their ancient temple, and of their hot baths; and if this inference be a just one, another and a more important one seems naturally to follow. Assuming that the Belgæ were thus excluded from Avebury, is it not likely that they would provide a "locus consecratus" at some central point within their own border—a place for their judicial assemblies, like the Gaulish temple, "in finibus Carnutum,² quæ regio totius Galliæ media habetur?" May not Stonehenge have been the substitute so provided?

There seem to be two opinions prevalent with respect to the date of this mysterious monument. There are antiquaries who maintain that it was built before the Christian era, at some period of great and undefined antiquity; and others, who would postpone its erection to a period subsequent to the Roman occupation of the island.

The first of these opinions is generally supported on the authority of a passage in Diodorus Siculus, which appears to have been taken from Hecataeus of Abdera, who flourished about three centuries before the Christian era. According to this authority, there was among the Hyperboreans a round temple dedicated to Apollo, and situated in an island "opposite Celtica." Our English antiquaries assume, that the word Celtica, in this passage, was used with the same meaning as by Strabo and his contemporaries, or, in other words, that it signified Gaul, and they conclude that the island was Britain, and the round temple Stonehenge, or Avebury, or the Rolrich circle, according to the particular hypothesis they are interested in supporting. Swedish antiquaries give to *Celtica* a wider meaning, and as the ancients considered Scandinavia to be an island, they boldly claim the round temple of the Hyperboreans as Swedish property. Wesseling, in a sensible note, examines these different hypo-

² Cæs. B. G. 6. Does not the name of *Carnutes* mean the people of *Car-nut*, in modern Welsh, *Caer nawdd*, the City of the Sanctuary? In the discourse, which the writer delivered at Salisbury, on "the Early English Settlements in South Britain," one of the points he contended for was this, that both Stonehenge and

the great monastery which was afterwards built in its neighbourhood, were known as the *nawdd*, or sanctuary, and that it was from this Welsh word that the Anglo-Saxons got their *Nat-e*, and also the title by which they designated Ambrosius, viz., *Natun leod*.

theses, and, for reasons which appear satisfactory, rejects them. He is inclined to fix the round temple far more to the eastward, than would suit the views either of our own or of the Swedish antiquaries; and whether we agree with him or not, the criticism which identifies Stonehenge with this temple of the Hyperboreans, rests, I think, on grounds much too questionable to secure the assent of any cautious inquirer.

The opinion which assigns to Stonehenge, and indeed to *all* our Druidical structures, a date posterior to the Roman conquest, is the one most generally entertained at the present day. It has been elaborately maintained by Mr. J. Rickman.³ He objects to an earlier date for Avebury, because it adjoins to a Roman road; because it resembles a Roman amphitheatre; because its dimensions seem to be adjusted to the measure of a Roman mile; and lastly, because the engineer, who made the Roman road, did not avail himself of the deep ditch round Silbury, to lessen the steepness of the ascent; whence we may conclude that such ditch was not in existence when the road was made. His attempts to support the second and third⁴ of these positions appear to the writer to be most unsatisfactory; and with respect to the first, it might be answered, that the Roman road from Silchester to Bath was, in all probability, preceded by a British trackway, and that the point where the Ickneld road crossed such trackway, was well suited for the site of a great national temple; while the fact that the Roman engineers did not avail themselves of the lower level afforded them by the ditch, might be owing to their unwillingness to wound the national prejudices by violating unnecessarily a national monument. Rickman maintains, that tools of mixed metal, such as are found in the barrows of the early Britons, would have been unequal to the "respectable workmanship," which he observed on the tenons and mortices of the Stonehenge

³ *Archæologia*, Vol. 28.

⁴ The avenue which stretched south-east from the main temple, was intersected by the Roman road, and, according to Rickman, the distance of Silbury both from the point of intersection and from the centre of the Avebury circle, was a Roman mile. I can only say, that according to *my* measurement, Silbury hill is distant from the centre of the circle *more* than a Roman mile, and from the point of intersection *very considerably less*. But even were

the measurement correct, how could the symmetry of the structure be anyway dependent on the distance of Silbury from the point, where the road cut through the avenue? The proper inference seems to be, that the Romans would not allow a great public road to be diverted out of its course, in order to spare the mere adjuncts of a building, whose hold upon the respect and reverence of the people had probably been for some time declining.

trilithons; and that stone so hard could only have been worked after the introduction of steel tools. As we know that "the maritime states" produced iron in the time of Cæsar, it is clear that any hypothesis which does not carry back the origin of Stonehenge more than a century or two before the Christian era, will not be affected by the difficulty here suggested.

Mr. Herbert's theory may be considered, in one point of view, as a modification of Rickman's. He supposes that Stonehenge, Avebury, and our other "megalithic monuments" were erected *after the Romans had left the island*; and he has exhibited no small acuteness and learning, in support of this startling hypothesis. According to his theory, the bards and other favourers of the old superstition returned from Ireland, whither they had been driven by the influence of Roman civilisation, and of Christianity; heathenism, for a while, regained its ascendancy, and the enthusiasm awakened by the return to old habits and feelings, and by a sense of recovered independence, led to the erection of these mighty structures. Mr. Herbert skilfully avails himself of Rickman's arguments, and presses upon us the additional one, that the so-called Druidical temples, and other similar erections, are only to be found in Britain, or in countries closely connected with it, as Brittany; and therefore must have been the results of causes operating partially, and not the general expression—the necessary outward manifestation—of a religion so widely diffused as the Druidical. Every candid reader will admit, that there is considerable weight in the argument last referred to. Do the following considerations supply us with a sufficient answer to it?

We know from Cæsar, that Britain was looked upon by the Gauls, both as the great centre of Druidism, and as the country in which its peculiar doctrines originated; "*disciplina in Britannia reperta, atque inde in Galliam translata esse existimatur; et nunc qui diligentius eam rem cognoscere volunt, plerumque illo discendi causâ profisciscuntur.*"—*B. G.* 16. We might therefore expect to find in Britain, and such countries as were intimately connected with it, more marked traces of the peculiar structures which characterised this system, than are to be met with elsewhere. It seems also to be a fact, that, with the exception of Stonehenge, to which I shall shortly advert more particularly, all the larger Druidical

temples are situated in places where the blocks of stone, commonly called Sarsen stones, abound, or, at least, are known at one time to have abounded ; and that the geological conditions which distinguish such localities, occur more frequently in England than in the interior of France. I think, therefore, we may account for the unfrequent occurrence of these structures in such parts of Gaul as are remote from its western coast, without being driven to the conclusion which Mr. Herbert would bring us to.

There is one argument against the theory, which assigns to Stonehenge, and the other Druidical structures, a date subsequent to the Roman occupation of the island, which the members of an Archaeological society are peculiarly fitted to appreciate. We all know—the principles on which our

Gothic buildings” were so long constructed, sufficiently teach us—how difficult it is for an architect to compose in a new style of architecture, and at the same time to keep his mind unswayed by the forms to which he has been long accustomed. Now I do not forget, that Inigo Jones started the hypothesis, that Stonehenge was “a hypæthral temple ;” but in his day the fundamental principles, which distinguish the different systems of architectural construction, had been but little studied, and the researches of modern times have placed us on a vantage-ground that enables us to estimate at its proper value, a theory, which, coming from a man so eminent, might otherwise occasion us some difficulty. After thus much of preface, I would ask the archaeological reader, whether he thinks it comes within the limits of a reasonable probability, that men who had, for centuries, been familiarised with the forms of Roman architecture, could have built Stonehenge ?

If we suppose Stonehenge to have been erected after the Southern Belgæ had pushed their frontier to the Wansdike, and not long before Divitiacus obtained his *imperium* over the other Belgic races, every difficulty vanishes. The manufacture of iron was probably known in Britain at that period, though it seems to have been only lately introduced, as Cæsar tells us, not many years afterwards, that the metal was not abundant,⁵ “*ejus exigua est copia ;*” and

⁵ Iron appears to have been scarce, at least in the remoter parts of Britain, as late as the beginning of the third century. Herodian informs us, that the tribes who opposed Severus decked their loins and

necks with this metal (i. e. I suppose, made their *torcs* of iron, and covered their girdles with it), and esteemed it not only as an ornament but also as a *proof of wealth*.

we are accordingly able to account for "the respectable workmanship," which Rickman observed at Stonehenge, and which certainly presents difficulties in the way of the hypothesis, that assigns to Stonehenge the remote antiquity sometimes given to it. Again, our geologists seem to be agreed, that the huge blocks of sandstone, which form the trilithons at Stonehenge, must have come from the neighbourhood of the Vale of Pewsey. Now the amount of physical power equal to the transport of such large masses, would exhaust the whole resources of the district ; and we may safely conclude that the builders of Stonehenge, whoever they were, must also have been lords of the fertile vale, so celebrated in the annals of agriculture. If the Belgæ were the builders, it follows necessarily that this temple was erected after the vale became Belgic territory, or as we may otherwise phrase it, after the Wansdike had been raised. That Stonehenge *had* some peculiar relation to the Belgic province, may be inferred from its central position within it. The capital towns of the Celtic races were often on the confines of their territories ; as Winchester and Ilchester, near the borders of the Belgæ ; and Silchester near those of the Attrebates. The facilities which such positions afforded for the defence of the frontier, may have been the reasons why they were selected. But we may gather from the passage already quoted, relative to the Gaulish temple, that a central situation was thought most suitable for the "*locus consecratus*," where justice was administered, and the national assemblies held. That Stonehenge was such "*locus consecratus*" is admitted by all, who regard it as a Celtic structure ; and the enormous labour which was expended in transporting the materials to the spot, proves that the spot on which it stands was thought peculiarly eligible. I can point to no circumstances which could have made it so, save those which have been suggested.

The peculiarities which distinguish the structure of Stonehenge, seem to afford us additional arguments in support of the conclusions we have come to. Most of our Celtic temples are surrounded by a circular ditch. Now at Avebury, and in other cases, the mound or agger is on the outside of the ditch, while at Stonehenge it is within it. This new arrangement seems to indicate the usages of a new people ; while the general style of the building, the more artistic plan, the

use of imposts, the well-executed tenons and mortices, and the worked surfaces of the uprights, all seem to point to a later age, and a more advanced civilisation. I think therefore we may fairly conclude, that Stonehenge is of later date than Avebury and the other structures of unwrought stone ; that it could not have been built much later than the year 100, B.C., and in all probability was not built more than a century or two earlier. As to the antiquity of *Avebury*. I dare offer no conjecture. If the reader be more venturesome, and should fix its erection some eight or ten centuries before our era, it would be difficult to advance any critical reasons against his hypothesis.

SOME REMARKS ON THE RENT-ROLL OF HUMPHREY, DUKE
OF BUCKINGHAM.

26 & 27 HEN. VI., 1447, 1448.

READ AT THE OXFORD MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, JUNE 19, 1860.

BY JAMES HEYWOOD MARKLAND, D.C.L., F.R.S., & S.A.

THE accompanying Roll, preserved amongst the Archives at Longleat, was obligingly placed by the Marquis of Bath in my hands for examination. It contains in fifty-six feet of parchment the Rent Roll of Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, taken in the 26th and 27th years of the reign of Henry VI. (1447, 1448.)

A document of this kind must necessarily be far less interesting than a Household Book, or entries of expenses, but as this Roll shows us the Rental of one of our most powerful noblemen, four centuries ago, and conveys other information, a statement of its contents, with some few comments, may not be wholly valueless.

In the pages of English History, from the Conquest down to the reign of Henry VIII., the House of Stafford is conspicuous; their long unbroken descent, their splendid alliances, and their vast possessions, naturally imparted to them great power and influence, and placed them amongst the very foremost of English nobles. At the Conquest they possessed no fewer than eighty-one Lordships in Staffordshire alone, twenty-six in Warwickshire, and twenty in Leicester-shire. By successive alliances with the heiresses of illustrious houses, these possessions swelled to the extent of the Rental before us, and they were again increased one-seventh in amount in the life-time of Henry, the second Duke.

The contemptuous reflection on Wolsey, which Shakspeare has put into the mouth of Edward, the third Duke,—styled by Johnson “one of the ancient unlettered martial nobility”—may be well understood, considering how different was the origin of these two distinguished persons:—

“A beggar’s Book
Outworths a noble’s blood.”

At the same time, to this House how closely does the Psalmist's awful language apply!—

“Thou dost set them in slippery places; thou castest them down and destroyest them.

Oh! how suddenly do they consume, perish, and come to a fearful end.”

Psalm lxxiii. 18, 19.

To the Staffords', "their birth and state" proved, as we shall see, "shadows not substantial things"—with them "the paths of glory" *literally* "led to the grave." In those days, as Southey remarks, "to die in peace at a good old age was indeed a rare fortune for men in high station." To fall in battle, or to receive the honours of political martyrdom, was the fate of too many members of our chief families. Two of this family were secretly murdered—three forfeited their lives on the scaffold—three fell in the field, not whilst defending their country against foreign enemies, but in the intestine factions of York and Lancaster. In three instances the father followed his expectant heir to the tomb.

This melancholy catalogue may be closed by the name of the accomplished Surrey, who, in his thirtieth year, shared the fate of his grandfather and great grandfather, the second and third Dukes of Buckingham, and whose untimely end must ever be a subject of regret amidst these walls. Had his life been spared, England might, perhaps, from his encouragement and example, have advanced earlier to that high rank in learning and in literature, which, through her Universities, she still so happily maintains.

One of the fatal events, to which I have referred, Froissart narrates in his own unrivalled manner. When Richard II. was on his route to Scotland, an archer of Sir Richard (Ralph?) Stafford's, the son of Hugh, Earl of Stafford, pierced with his arrow an esquire of Sir John Holland's, the king's half-brother.

“Tidynges anone was brought to Sir Johan of Holande, that an archer of Sir Richarde Stafforde's had slayne a squyer of his, y^e man that he loued best in all the world.—Whan Sir Johan of Holande was well enfourmed of this aduventure, he was ryght sore displeased, & sayd, I shall neur eate nor drinke tyll it be reuenged, than he lepte on his horse, & toke certayne of his men with him, and departed fro his owne lodgyng, it was as than right late, & so rode into the fieldes.—And as he and his men rode up & downe amonge the hedges and bussches, in a straitte waye he mett at aduventure, with Sir Richarde Stafforde, & because it was night,

he demanded who was there, I am quod he Richarde Stafforde; & I am Hollande quod the other, & I seke for the; one of thy seruantes hath slayne my best beloued squyer; & therwith drew out his sworde, & strake Richarde Stafforde so that he slewe him, & fell downe deed, whiche was great pytie, so he passed forthe & knewe not well what he had done; but he sawe well one falle to the grounde.—Sir Richarde Stafforde's men were sore dismayed when they sawe their maister deed, than they cryed A Holande, Holande ye haue slayne the sonne of therle of Stafforde, this will be heuy tydynges to the father whane he knowethe therof. Some of Sir Johan of Holande's seruantes herde well these wordes & sayde to their Master, Sir, ye haue slayne Sir Richarde Stafforde; well quod Sir Johan Hollande, what than? I had leauer have slayne him than a worse; the better haue I revenged the dethe of my squyer. Than Sir Johan of Holande went streyght to Saint Johan's of Beuerley & tooke the fraunchesse of the towne, and abode there styll, for he knew well there wolde be moche ado in the hooste for the dethe of that knight, and he wist not what the kynge would saye or do in the matter, so to eschue all parylles, he tooke sentuary in the towne of Saint Johan's of Beuerley.

“Tidynges anon came to the erle of Stafforde, how his sonne was slayne by yuell aduenture; thane the erle demaunded who had slayne him, & suche as were by him, when he was slayne, sayd, Sir, the kynges brother, Sir Johan of Holande dyd slee him; and shewed hym the cause why & howe it was. Ye maye well knowe that he loued entierly his sonne, & had no mō but hym, & was a fayre yonge knyght, & a couragyeous, was maruelously sore dyspleased, and sent incontynent for all his friends, to haue their counsaile, how he shulde vse hymselfe, in the reuengynge of his dethe; the moost wisest man of his counsaile sayd, Sir, to-morrowe in the mornynge, shewe all the matter to the kyng, & desyre hym to haue lawe and iustyce.—Thus they suaged somewhat his yre, & so passed that night; & y^e nexte mornynge Richarde Stafforde was buried in the church of the vyllage therby, and at his buryng were all those of his lynage, barons knyghts and squyers that were in that armye.—And the obsequy done the erle of Stafforde, & a threescore of his lynage mounted on their horses, & so came to the kyng, who was well enformed of that yeull aduenture; & so the erle found the kyng and his vncles toguyder, and a great nombre of knyghtes with them. Whan the erle came before the kyng he kneled downe, & all wepyng sayde with a soroufull harte, Sir, ye are kyng of Englande, & haue solemnly sworn to kepe Englāde in all ryght, and to do justice; Sir, ye know how your brother, wōt any tytell of reason, hath slayne my sonne and ayre. Sir, I requyre you do me right & iustyce, or els ye shall haue no worse enemy than I will be, and Sir, I wyll ye know the dethe of my sonne toucheth me so nere, that & it were nat for brekyng of this voyage that we be in, I shulde bring the hoste into suche trouble, that with honour it should be amended, and so couterueenged, that it shoulde be spoken of a hūdred yeres hereafter in Englande: but as now I wyll cease tyll this voyage into Scotlande be done, for our enemyes shall not reioyce of the trouble of the erle of Stafforde.—The kyng answered, knowe for trouthe, that I shall do you justyce & reason, as far forth as all my barones wyll iudge: I shall not fayle thereof for no brother that I haue than they of the erle's lynage said, Sir, ye have said well, we thank you therof.—Thus the lynage of Sir Richard Stafforde was appeased, and so helde on their journey into Scotlande, & all the iourney

the erle of Stafforde made no semblant of the dethe of his sonne, wherein all the barons reputed hym right sage." ¹

The alliance between the Staffords and the blood royal of England, which will be presently noticed, was a circumstance on which the family placed a due value; the royal arms formed the first quarter of their coat-armour. But this connexion, by placing them too prominently as rivals of the crown, led, in great measure, both the second and third Dukes to the scaffold.

There can be little question that these noblemen aimed at sovereign power, and Richard III. held the throne by far too questionable a title to tolerate the existence of so formidable a rival as Henry, the second Duke.

Humphrey, the sixth Earl of Stafford,—whose rental is before us—was the son of Edward, or Edmond, the fifth Earl of Stafford, slain at Shrewsbury in 1403, by Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III., and who himself bore for awhile the title of Buckingham, afterwards conferred upon his grandson.

In these two descents we may mark how rapidly a family may gain strength and power by its alliances. The Duke of Gloucester married Eleanor, the eldest daughter and co-heir of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, constable of England. The Duke's daughter, the before-named Lady Anne, became heiress to her brother Humphrey, who died of the plague, childless. She inherited also her mother's moiety of the large estates of the Bohuns, and in her will, doubtless conscious of her dignities, styles herself "Countess of Stafford, Buckingham, Hereford, and Northampton, and Lady of Brecknock."

We possess but little information as to the first Duke. In the 2nd of Henry VI. he did homage and had livery of his lands, as also of those which had descended to him by the death of his uncle, Hugh, Lord Bouchier, S.P. In the 9th of Henry VI. he attended the king at Paris, where in the following year Henry was crowned. Two years afterwards he was appointed Captain of the Town and Marches of Calais. In an indenture, (22nd Hen. VI.) 1443, he is styled "the Right Mighty Prince Humphrey, Earl of Buck-

¹ Froissart's Chronicles, translated by Lord Berners, vol. ii. p. 24.

ingham, Hereford, Stafford, Northampton, and Perch, Lord of Brecknock and of Holderness, and Captain of the Town of Calais."² In 1444, he was created Duke of Buckingham, and made Constable of Dover Castle.

He married the Lady Anne Neville, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, by whom he had issue Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, who was killed at St. Alban's in his father's life-time, 1455. The Duke's second son, Lord Henry Stafford, married Margaret Beaufort, so well known to us as the Countess of Richmond and Derby, the mother of Henry VII. The third, and youngest son, was John, Earl of Wiltshire. The Duke had also two daughters; the eldest, Anne, married Aubrey de Vere, eldest son and heir of John, Earl of Oxford. On this occasion Bishop Kennett tells us that the Duke received a customary aid from his feodatory tenants: a receipt given to one of them is as follows:—

"This Bille endentyd the 13 day of August (24 H. 6) bereth witnesse that Rob^t. Power feodary of my Lorde the Duke of Bockyngham hath reseyved of Edward Rede Squyere 25s. for a relif, and 5s. for a tenable eyde to the mariage of the heldyst daughter of my seyde lord for the fourth part of a knyght's fee in Adyngrave, in the shire of Buckingham."³

We thus see how a marriage portion could be raised at this period.

Among the Paston Letters there is one from the Duke to the Viscount Beaumont, who is addressed as his "right entirely beloved Brother," both these peers being Knights of the Garter.⁴ The letter—which is said to be "perhaps the only original Letter extant of this great Peer"—is without date, but was written probably between 1444 and 1445. It presents a curious picture of his ways and means; for, notwithstanding his large possessions, it relates to an unsatisfied debt owing by him to the Viscount. He says,—

"I perceive by the tenor of your letter your good desire of a certain debt that I owe unto you. In good faith, Brother, it is so with me at this time that I have but easy stuff of money within me, for so much as the season of the year is not yet grown, so that I may not please your said good brotherhood, as God knoweth my will and intent were to do, and if I had it."

² Allen's History of Yorkshire, II., 392.

³ Kennett's Parochial Antiq., vol. ii. p. 372.

⁴ Whose institution directs that the knights companions should be "fellows and brethren, united in all chances of for-

tune, copartners both in peace and war, assistant to one another in all serious and dangerous transactions, and through the whole course of their lives, faithful and friendly one towards another."

He sends by his son Stafford an obligation, partly satisfied,—

“The residue of which I pray you to receive, and that I may have an acquittance thereof, and to give credence unto my said son in such thing as he should say unto your good brotherhood on my behalf.”^s

The Duke dates his letter from the castle of Maxstoke, situated to the east of Coleshill, in Warwickshire. It was visited by Pennant in 1780, who speaks of the fine gateway, and the gates, covered with plates of iron by the Duke, with his arms impaling those of Nevil, and with the supporters, two antelopes, derived from his mother, “the burning nave or knot—the cognizance of his own ancestors.” Pennant speaks also of a great vault ribbed with stone, of the old chapel and kitchen, and the noble old hall, and a great dining-room, with a most curious carved door and chimney, as then in use. Some portions of this building, I understand, still exist.

An ancestor of our noble president, Sir William Compton, was the favoured grantee of this estate when forfeited in the reign of Henry VIII.

One circumstance in the Duke's life must not be passed over, as being characteristic of this chivalrous age, and showing the jealousy with which honours were defended.

The nobleman, who may be regarded as the Duke's most powerful rival, was Henry Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, born 1424. From his father he inherited large estates, valued (12th Henry VI.) at 8606 *marks*; he was created Duke of Warwick in the same year (1444) that Buckingham gained that rank; and on this accession of title, while he was, in the scale of precedence, to follow the Duke of Norfolk, he was placed before Buckingham. This proof of royal favour gave great umbrage to the latter (who happened to be the Duke of Warwick's godfather), and in order to prevent contention and strife the matter of precedence betwixt these peers was thus settled by Parliament—

“That one of the said dukes shall have the pre-eminence for one whole year, and then the other have pre-eminence for the next year, and so alternately, as long as they shall live, and on their deaths, whichever shall first have livery of his lands to have the perpetual precedence.”

^s Paston Letters, by Ramsay (1840) vol. i. p. 9.

Well might the Lord Mayor, in Shakspeare's Henry VI. exclaim—

“ That nobles should such Stomachs bear ! ”

Whether Buckingham's feelings were soothed by this middle course of proceeding or not may be doubted ; but all jealousy was soon set at rest. Dugdale tells us that, on the death of Warwick, about two years after, without issue male, Buckingham obtained a special grant giving to himself and his heirs precedence above all dukes whatever, excepting such as were of the blood royal. Dugdale also states that—

“ In consideration of his vast expences, in attending the King in those turbulent times, against his adversaries, then in arms, he obtained a grant (38 Hen. VI.) of all those fines which Walter Devereux, William Hastings, and Walter Hopton were to make to the King for their transgressions.”⁶

Here was a fresh augmentation of wealth.

The Duke was slain in the battle of Northampton (28th July, 38 Hen. VI.), and was buried either there or in the monastery of Delapré. His will is given by Dugdale and by Nicolas. It contains some bequests for religious and charitable uses, and one provision deserves notice. In an age when the funeral solemnities of noblemen were performed with extraordinary splendour, and at a lavish expense, the Duke wisely directs, that his own should be solemnised “ without any sumptuous costs or charge.”

To revert to the roll. It contains the rental of estates in twenty-seven counties. The largest of these possessions appears to have been the castle, manor, and dominion of Brecknock, Huntingdon, and Talgarth, in Herefordshire, and the Marches of Wales, yielding 1183*l.* per annum. The estates in Holderness, producing the gross rental of 949*l.*, were also of immense extent, comprising the seignior, liberty, and manor of Holderness, and lands or other property in twenty-eight parishes. These the Duke inherited through his mother.

The property in this county (Oxfordshire) was small (*viz.*, 37*l.* 18*s.* 3½*d.* per annum), consisting only of the manor of Stratton Audley.

The gross rental is 6300*l.*, a sum then of vast amount. To show this the more accurately, I had bestowed some labour, in order to arrive, if possible, at the sum which it would represent in our own days. But to enter into the

⁶ Dugdale's Baronage, p. 165.

details necessary, in order to lead us to a correct conclusion as to this point, would compel me to trespass upon your time far longer than would be acceptable.

Those who may feel interested in the subject may consult—1. Bishop Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*; 2. The History of England, by Dr. Henry; 3. The Tables, drawn up with so much care, by Rear-Admiral Rainier, in 1833,⁷ and 4. Mr. Hallam's *Work on the Middle Ages*, where some very judicious observations on this subject will be found. Still our endeavours to adjust a multiplier for expressing the real value of a sum in the days of Henry VI. in terms of our present money, or its equivalent value, in commanding commodities in the present day, are attended with difficulties—1. From the difference of opinion which prevails amongst writers on the subject; 2. From the great variations in the price of wheat, taken as a criterion; and 3. In the shifting value of money. In order, therefore, to prove the magnitude of the Duke of Buckingham's income, I would endeavour to show how very much could be effected in different ways at that period with sums of far less amount.

It may be remarked that this income exceeded that of the powerful peer before alluded to, the Duke of Warwick, by some hundreds per annum, and we may compare it with the revenues of the greatest religious houses at the Dissolution.

Whilst thus engaged, we must never fail to bear in mind Johnson's judicious remark, that "custom, or the different needs of artificial life, make that revenue little at one time which is great at another. Men are rich and poor, not only in proportion to what they have, but what they want." Ascham's pension of 10*l.*, granted him by Henry VIII., reckoning the wants he could supply, and those from which he was exempt, Johnson (seventy years ago) computed at more than 100*l.* a year.

Although a great nobleman at this period had, as we shall presently see, many heavy calls upon his purse, yet people had few *imaginary* wants. Our habits, in this age of luxury, when contrasted with the severe simplicity of ancient times, must differ almost as widely, in some respects, as did those of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands with the English, when the former were visited by Captain Cook.

⁷ Obliginglly lent by the Earl of Chichester, at the instance of my friend R. W. Blencowe, Esq.

True it is, that we find, in old inventories, vast quantities of plate the property of individuals—Sir John Fastolfe, for instance, one of the heroes of Agincourt, possessed not less than 13,400 ounces of silver in flagons and other massive articles, and the bed-rooms at Caister were furnished with luxuries which would then, perhaps, be regarded as effeminate ;⁸ still, ordinarily, great simplicity prevailed. Carpets were used only as coverings for tables and sideboards ; sometimes for chairs. Hay and rushes served for floors. A few oaken benches and tables, raised on strong tressells, and a pair of andirons or dogs, generally formed the whole inventory of the best furnished apartment.

In the reign of Edward I., says Mr. Hallam—

“ An income of 10*l.* or 20*l.* was reckoned a competent estat for a gentleman ; at least the lord of a single manor would seldom have enjoyed more. A knight who possessed 150*l.* per annum passed for extremely rich.”⁹

His income was comparatively free from taxation, and its expenditure was lightened by the services of his villeins. Sir John Fortescue speaks of 5*l.* a year as “ a fair living for a yeoman,” a class whose importance he is not at all inclined to diminish.¹

Dr. Henry, eighty years ago, observed : —

“ It seems to be abundantly evident, that inferior clergymen, yeomen, respectable tradesmen, and others in the middle ranks of life, could have lived as plentifully, in the fifteenth century, on an income of 5*l.* a year, of the money of that age, as those of the same rank can live on ten times that nominal, or five times that real income, that is, on 50*l.* a year, at present.

“ The precious metals of gold and silver,” he continues, “ have indeed greatly increased in Britain since those times ; but we must not therefore imagine, that we are so much richer than our ancestors ; because as these metals increased in quantity, they decreased in value and efficacy.”²

To proceed with our illustrations. We have particulars of the pay of Edward the Third's army in the twentieth year of his reign. That of the Black Prince was 20*s.* per diem. The sum total is 12,720*l.*, for which, says Barrington,³ an army and fleet of 31,294 men were to be paid and subsisted for sixteen months.

In the expedition made by John Duke of Norfolk (then

⁸ *Archaeol.* vol. xxi. p. 234.

⁹ Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii. p. 451.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Henry's *Hist. Eng.*, vol. x. p. 273.

³ *Observations on the Statutes*, p. 267.

Lord Howard) to Scotland, as Lieutenant and Captain of Edward IV., in 1481, with 3000 landmen and mariners, for sixteen weeks, the payment to each man by the week is computed at xv^d. for his wages, and for his vitels xii^d. The sum total in "money wages and vitels for sixteen weeks being VM. V^c. li."⁴ At this time it appears that an ox could be bought for 20s. and a load of hay for 5s. 4d.

In the reign of Henry VII., 120*l*. was held sufficient to found a fellowship.⁵

The whole revenues of the estate given by Margaret, Countess of Richmond, for the foundation of Saint John's College, Cambridge, amounted to 400*l*. per annum only, which was shamefully lessened by Henry VIII. On the fabric of that house were expended 4000*l*. to 5000*l*., "a round sum in that age," as it is termed,—small as it will strike *us* for collegiate buildings of great extent. At this time 12*d*. per week was allowed in common to a fellow, and 7*d*. to a scholar.⁶

The largest sum ever paid in one year at the shrine of Thomas à Beckett, by as many as 100,000 pilgrims (1420), did not reach one-sixth part of the Duke's income, being only 954*l*. 6s. 3*d*.

In 1482, a grocer's shop in Cheapside, then, as now, a main artery of the Metropolis, "with a place above it," (perhaps a warehouse or store for goods), was let by Lord Howard for 4*l*. 6s. 8*d*. per annum.⁷ Lord Howard seems to have taken out the rent, in whole or in part, in groceries.

The vast estates of the Cliffords, in the time of the first Earl of Cumberland (temp. Henry VIII.), in the rich vales of Yorkshire, produced only 1719*l*. per annum.⁸

From marriage settlements we may also gather what were regarded as adequate allowances for members of illustrious families. Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, on his marriage with the Lady Anne, the youngest daughter of Edward IV., settled on the lady, "for sustentation and convenient diet in meat and drink," 20s. per week. Also a sum of 51*l*. 11s. 8*d*. was to be paid for the wages, diet, and clothing of the following persons—viz., two women, a woman-

⁴ Howard Household Books, edited by J. P. Collier, Esq. Preface, p. iv., and p. 9.

⁵ Bishop Fisher's Funeral Sermon on the Countess of Richmond and Derby. Preface, p. xlv.

⁶ Sermon *ut supra*, preface, p. xlv.

⁷ Howard Household Books, preface, p. xxv., and p. 351.

⁸ Whitaker's Craven, p. 262.

child, a gentleman, a yeoman and three grooms ; seven horses were to be kept at 47s. for each horse. The Queen was to find the lady in clothes, and to allow 120*l.* yearly for a certain period.⁹

The second wife of the Shepherd Lord Clifford, who was the daughter of Sir Henry Pudsay, of Bolton, married three times—1st, to Sir Thomas Talbot ; 2ndly, Lord Clifford ; 3rdly, Richard, third son of Thomas, Marquis of Dorset. Her first jointure, with the Knight, was 10 marks ; this was very largely exceeded when she married the Baron, who settled upon her no less than 150*l.* per annum.

The mother of Henry, Lord Surrey (the Lady Elizabeth Stafford), the daughter of the last Duke of Buckingham, on her marriage with the before-named Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, received from her father a fortune of 2000 marks ; the jointure settled upon her by her husband's father was 500 marks per annum.¹

To the talents of this Lady Dr. Nott pays this high tribute of praise—"She was one of the most accomplished persons of the times ; the friend of scholars, and the patron of literature."²

On the marriage of the Earl of Surrey, his father, the Duke of Norfolk, settled upon him lands yielding 300*l.* per annum. His lady, Lady Frances Vere, brought a fortune of 4000 marks, 200 to be paid on the day of marriage, and the remainder by half-yearly payments of 100 marks. The Duke was to be at the charge of Lord Surrey's clothes, Lord Oxford of those for the Lady Frances.³

But we shall probably form the most accurate idea how very much might be effected with a rental of 6000*l.* in the reign of Henry VI., by seeing how far any sum in round numbers (1000*l.* for instance) would go in housekeeping, both in those days and somewhat later.

Take the monastery of Glastonbury, well entitled, both from its splendour and its possessions, to stand foremost, as it does, in Dugdale's Monasticon. Its head had precedence of all the abbots in England until 1154, when that distinction was transferred to Saint Alban's. At the Dissolution, the revenues of this monastery were estimated at 3508*l.* ; and what was its state and condition at that period ? It was not only a religious house and an asylum for poverty, but it

⁹ Nott's Surrey and Wyatt, vol. i. p. vi.

¹ Nott, *ut supra*, p. viii.

² Nott's Surrey, Preface, p. viii.

³ Nott, *ut supra*, p. xxiii.

presented the pleasing picture of a well-disciplined court, where the sons of noblemen and gentlemen were educated. Whiting, the last abbot, whose cruel treatment—his murder we may call it—was equalled only by the bloody deeds of Judge Jefferies in the same part of England in a later age, had himself bred up nearly 300 young men of good birth in the short space of fifteen years, besides others of inferior degree, who were fitted for the Universities. He sometimes entertained 500 persons of rank at one time. On Wednesdays and Fridays all the poor in the neighbourhood were relieved, and when he went abroad he was attended by upwards of 100 persons. Yet this vast household, and this extensive hospitality, with the expenses attached to a great monastic establishment, the due performance of Divine service, the maintenance of buildings, and countless other outgoings, were sustained, as we see, for about 3508*l.* per annum.

To another monastery we will refer, as we have the accounts before us. About 1533 the sum expended at Whalley Abbey, in Lancashire, upon animal food alone was 143*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, which multiplied by ten would be equivalent to 1400*l.* of our money, and giving so many pounds of meat to each person (when animal food formed a much larger proportion of diet than at present) would have fed 162 persons daily at the Abbot's table.

Other large monasteries or religious houses were valued at the Dissolution, at the following sums:—

Westminster at 3977*l.* (Speed)—3471*l.* (Dugdale).

Saint Alban's at 2510*l.*

Tewkesbury at 1598*l.*

Sion, the best endowed Nunnery in the kingdom, at 1994*l.*⁴

The vast quantities of food which were furnished from the estates of noblemen and of religious houses, would, of course, materially reduce the cost of maintaining their immense establishments.

Let us next take a review of the expenses of the household of a powerful and wealthy nobleman. By the Northumberland Household Book, it appears that, in 1512 (65 years after the date of this rental), 1000*l.* was annually assigned for keeping the Earl's house. The number of the household was not less than 166 persons; the *weekly* sum to each

⁴ Taylor's Index Monasticus, Diocese of Norwich, p. viii.

person being 2s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or 6l. 0s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. per annum. Bishop Percy computes this sum (taking wheat at 5s. 8d. per *quarter* in 1512, against 5s. per *bushel* in his own time) at 44l. 17s. 6d. for each individual, which, amounting to nearly 7000l. per annum, would express to us clearly the abundance and the liberality of the general scale of the Earl's housekeeping.

But large as were the sums actually paid at this period, in a vast establishment, for provisions—for mere eating and drinking—they formed but one item of expenditure.

As additional outgoings we may enumerate :—

1. The *wardrobe* of persons of rank, including the jewellery, furs, chains, velvets, cloth of gold and embroidery. So magnificent and expensive were these, that it has been said, many of the nobles “carried their castles, woods, and farms on their backs.”⁵ The velvet for a nobleman's robe in the 17 Hen. VIII. is estimated at 1l. 11s. 8d. the yard, the dress amounting to 26l. 2s. 6d., nearly 200l. of our money. Black satin at 8s. per yard.

The parson's livery at this time cost one mark—13s. 4d.

2. The wages paid and liveries furnished to a very numerous household.

3. The armoury, horses, and harness, and the carriages required for the removal of the contents of one castle to another. This was a singular feature in the manners of the times, the owners of castles removing from one to another, furnishing each, as it was from time to time required, for their reception.

4. The keeping in repair the castles and dwellings, and the restoration of churches and chapels.

5. Donations in money, or in money's worth, towards the building, rebuilding, or restoration of many of our cathedrals and churches. These were oftentimes granted with a liberality befitting the object. We must gladly advert to the spirit—the large and generous spirit of ancient days, when fortunes were cast into the offerings to God; when one person would accomplish what, with some splendid exceptions, we now require a society, a town, or parish to undertake. In the twelfth century, on the rebuilding the abbey and church of Croyland, a knight laid one stone, and placed on it 20l.; another knight 10 marks; his wife and sister pro-

⁵ Henry's Hist. Eng., vol. ii. 135.

vided each a stone-cutter to work at their expense for two years; a neighbouring abbot 10*l.*; a baron, with his lady, their eldest son and daughter, placed the four next stones, offering on them the title-deeds of the advowsons of four neighbouring churches. The proceedings at that festival furnish an excellent example for us at the present day.⁶ We may add, under this head, the tapestry and other furniture required in a chapel, the lights, altar-cloths, richly embroidered copes, gifts of plate and vestments, and other articles for the services of the church. Also the offerings made to images, and at shrines and tombs.

6. Expenses attending the chase and out-door amusements; payments to huntsmen, falconers, and watermen. "The *mystery* of woods, and the mystery of rivers," were necessary occupations for furnishing the tables, as well as daily sources of amusement.⁷

7. Rewards and costly presents, including the offerings at festivals before spoken of; the payments to silversmiths for *presents*, often appear in household books as disbursements of very large amount.

8. Payments to theatrical servants, "Associations of Players," as they were sometimes called, kept by the aristocracy, or for occasional performances.

Lastly, let us not omit private charities. From the Howard Household Books, printed by the Roxburghe Club, and ably edited by Mr. Payne Collier, already referred to, extending from 1481 to 1483, we find that the private charities of Lord Howard, the first Duke of Norfolk, and his family, were both general and extensive. Few pages, says Mr. Collier, occur in which alms are not recorded, apparently as a necessary part of the household expenditure.⁸

In a subsequent age this good practice continued. Anne, Countess of Pembroke, during her residence at each of her castles, every Monday morning caused 10*s.* to be distributed amongst 20 poor householders of the place, besides the daily alms which she gave at her gates to all that came.⁹ A nobleman, as in the case of Lord Howard, often expended no trifling sums in the maintenance of youths at the Universities,

⁶ Berington's *Literary Hist. of the Middle Ages*, p. 216.

⁷ Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, vol. i. p. 335.

⁸ Household Books, *ut supra*, p. xxv.

⁹ Southey's *Colloquies*, ii. 137.

sometimes paying the whole sum required, sometimes allowing the parents to pay a part of the cost of education, and contributing the rest himself. We may suppose that boys of promising abilities were selected, whose friends were little able to make any allowance or exhibition, and we must agree with Mr. Collier in regarding this as "most beneficial and enlightened liberality."²

There is an indorsement on this Roll, which must not be passed over; it is entitled *annuitates*, a list of payments annually made to eighty-four persons, amounting altogether to the sum of 585*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.* It commences with an allowance of 100*l.* to the Duchess Anne, which, if pin money, must have been a liberal allowance. This payment is followed by others to ten knights, varying from 40 marks to 20*l.* To twenty-seven esquires, 10*l.*, 10 marks, and 5*l.*

To Garter King at Arms, 40*s.*

To Buckingham the Pursuivant, 4*l.*

To 4 females, Elisabeth Drury and 3 others, annuities of 20*l.*, 5*l.*, and 5 marks.

To 4 trumpeters, and 15 other persons, annuities of 40*s.*, 5 marks, 4 marks, and 20*s.*

One entry may be noticed, "Thome Tyler, Tegulatori," as a plain proof of the origin of a surname from a trade or occupation.

Amongst the knights and esquires are members of several distinguished families; the larger proportion of them are of Cheshire blood, viz., Mainwaring, Warburton, Hanford, Egerton, Devonport, Venables, Grosvenour, and Donne (Done). This fact I have not been able to account for. The mere possession of Macclesfield Castle could not have led to so intimate a connexion between the Duke and the families of that county. The net revenue received from it is exceedingly small, only 4*l.* 6*s.*

From the border county of Staffordshire the revenue was large, and some few names of ancient families belonging to it are found in the list; Curzon and Basset, for example.

Many of these knights and esquires, if not all, may have been pages or members of the Duke's household.

In the expenses of Whalley Abbey there are gifts to Lord Stanley (6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*), and also to knights, esquires, and gentlemen. For what services, in days of tranquillity, these

² Household Books, *ut supra*, p. xxvi.

pensions to gentry could have been conferred, Whitaker remarks, it is not easy to conceive, unless for past services, or that they are given to them in the character of retainers, when those services should be required in a military or civil capacity.

Henry, Earl of Northumberland, in the reign of Henry VII., addressed a brief notice to Sir Randall Pygot, Sir William Stapleton, and five other knights and esquires, "to be ready upon *an ower warning*." These were the Earl's feed-men, receiving his wages. When the king made his progress in the north, the Earl met him a little beyond Robin Hood's Stone, with thirty-three knights of his feed-men, besides esquires and yeomen.³

No feature is more pleasing than the practice which then prevailed, of the English nobility and gentry placing their children as pages in the households of distinguished individuals. In the *Lives of the Lindsays*, Lord Lindsay has grouped the society at one of the Castles of his ancestors in the fifteenth century, as consisting of the Earl and his immediate family, guests, ladies attendant upon the wife and daughter, pages of noble or gentle birth—these last are described as gentleman-cadets (generally the younger branches of the family, who were attached to its head as servitors or feudal followers)—the Earl's own domestic officers, being gentlemen of quality, chaplains and secretary-chamberlain, marischall and armour-bearer.⁴

Ben Jonson, in his play, "The New Inn," has perhaps given us the best idea of this judicious regulation, when every house became an academy of honour, and tended to supply the existing want of Eton and Westminster, then, perhaps, almost entirely devoted to the education of ecclesiastics :

" Call you that desperate, which, by a line
Of institution, from our ancestors,
Hath been derived down to us, and received
In a succession, for the noblest way
Of breeding up our youth, in letters, arms,
Fair mien, discourses, civil exercise,
And all the blazon of a Gentleman ?
Where can he learn to vault, to ride, to fence,
To move his body gracefuller, to speak
His language purer, or to tune his mind,
Or manners, more to the harmony of nature,
Than in these nurseries of nobility ?"—BEN JONSON.
New Inn, Act i., Scene 1.

³ Plumpton Correspondence, p. 53.

⁴ *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. i. p. 114.

If the disguised Lord Frampul, in this comedy, gives an accurate picture of Jonson's own days, it would seem that this institution had greatly degenerated, "that the age of Chivalry was gone," and that pages then occupied themselves in low and degrading pursuits.

I pass over any detailed statements regarding other members of this house ; but we must shortly notice Henry, the second duke, "high-reaching Buckingham," or, as Richard is pleased to call him, "the petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham."

A dialogue between the king and this dangerous subject, in Shakspeare's Richard III., has erroneously led to the belief that the moiety of the estates of the Earl of Hereford, claimed by Buckingham (who possessed the other part as the descendant of Anne Bohun), was withheld from him. Dugdale, on the contrary, gives us an abstract of the Bill founded on letters patent, "1st of Richard III., for livery of all those lands to the Duke, whereunto he pretended a right by descent from Humphrey de Bohun, sometime Earl of Hereford and Constable of England," together with a schedule of the castles and manors that was affixed to it, the annual value being 1084*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.*

In this bill Richard says, that "his beloved cosyn, Henry, Duke of Buckingham, is the rightful inheritor of such inheritances as were of the same earl."

Here therefore was a clear gift; Richard (says Holinshed) promised "golden hills and silver rivers" to Buckingham,⁵ and he apparently fulfilled his promise, but the duke, perhaps, never enjoyed these estates, as his life was forfeited in the following year.

It is to be observed that Shakspeare does not make the duke ask for *lands*, but for the earldom of Hereford and the promised "*moveables*."

Now what is meant by this last word may be gathered from various authorities, especially from inventories. There is a most comprehensive list of jewels, apparel and *moveables*, late belonging to the Duke of Norfolk and his accomplished son, given by Mr. Nott from the originals in the Land Revenue Office, of which it is stated that the Protector Somerset, after the death of Henry VIII., retained for himself the lion's share.⁶ These must have been of immense value,

⁵ Lives of the Lindsays, vol. iii, 416.

⁶ Nott's Surrey, vol. i., appendix cx.

and the Duke of Buckingham doubtless felt that though he obtained *honours, castles and manors*, yet if the *moveables* of the Earl of Hereford were kept back, he was still defrauded of his just rights.

Sad as was his fate, we cannot lament it, as this duke was the accomplice of some of the blackest crimes committed by Richard III.; and though he was the chief instrument of that monarch's ambition, yet his son himself admits, in the language of Shakespeare, that his noble father, Henry of Buckingham, actually "first rais'd head against usurping Richard."

From one most serious charge I am anxious to vindicate this nobleman, as it must be admitted to rest on very doubtful authority. Carte tells us that the duke hoped to have been admitted into Richard's presence at Salisbury, designing, *as his son afterwards said*, to have stabbed him with a knife, provided secretly for the purpose.⁷ Carte quotes Lord Herbert as his authority. The latter refers to the articles exhibited against the last Duke of Buckingham, grounded on the evidence of his discarded Steward or Surveyor, Knevet. That base dependant asserted to Wolsey that the duke would have played the part towards Henry VIII., which his father *intended* to have put in practice against Richard III. at Salisbury. The Scene in Shakspeare's Henry VIII., (Act. I., Scene 2) with the dignified rebuke of Queen Katherine to Knevet, when accusing his late master, will immediately recur to my readers.

The whole charge, therefore, appears to rest upon the testimony of one who betrayed his master, and who only received the report second hand, and Lord Herbert adds, "how far these particulars were proved, and in what sort, my authors deliver not."⁸

The reasons that prompted Duke Henry to take arms against his former friend and ally are not clearly stated. Richard and the Duke separated at Gloucester, More says, "in the most loving and trusty manner," and the Duke went to Brecknock "loaded with rich gifts and high behests." Sir James Macintosh is mistaken in his conjecture that no share in the spoils followed a share in the guilt; for though he obtained not all that he required, yet riches and honours, as

⁷ Carte's Hist. Eng., vol ii. p. 814; vol. iii. p. 40.

⁸ See Buck's Rich. III.; Kennett's Hist. Eng., vol. i. p. 530.

we have seen, were showered upon the head of Buckingham by Richard in no sparing measure.⁹ Possibly Richard may have waded further into blood than the Duke expected ; or, as a descendant of Edward III., Buckingham might have wished to hurl Richard from a throne stained with the blood of his brother's children. Friendship, if it ever existed between these two men, was turned to hate. As regarded Buckingham, discontent and envy ripened into conspiracy and rebellion. More says, "He was an high-minded man, and could ill bear the glory of another."¹ Shakespeare gives him, in his last hours, an accusing conscience—

" O let me think on Hastings,"

in whose destruction he had concurred.

The last days of the Duke's life will remind us of the many similar incidents which occurred to another peer of later days—the Duke of Monmouth. Both had been distinguished by the Royal favour in a more than common measure. Both were weak, vain, and ambitious men. In the rebellions they raised, they were received favourably by the people. Both assumed the title of king. Large rewards in money were in both cases offered for their apprehension ; but whether both were betrayed, is, as respects Monmouth, no very clear. The same privations and necessities were experienced by both, the once powerful Buckingham being, when captured, disguised as a countryman digging in a grove, and the Duke of Monmouth being found concealed in furz bushes. The Duke of Buckingham was hurried to the scaffold without the form of trial ; the Duke of Monmouth suffered by virtue of his previous attainder, and without any formal trial by his brother peers.²

To carry on the parallel one step further—the two monarchs, against whom these peers had combined, were severally hurled from their thrones soon after their subjects had paid the penalty of their own misdeeds.

Lord Bagot has, in the 25th Vol. of the *Archæolog*, given an interesting record connected with Edward the third and last Duke, in whom it may be remembered the post Lord High Constable of England, for several ages hereditary in the family of the Bohuns, became extinct.

⁹ Kennett's Hist. Eng., vol. ii. p. 41.

¹ Turner's Hist. Eng., vol. iii. p. 500.

² £1000 for Buckingham, Carte, ii.

³ Rapin, vol. iii. p. 749.

The Household Book in his lordship's possession extends over seven months of one year (27th Hen. VII.), and shows the Duke's expenditure in London, at Thornbury, and on journeys to and from London and Gloucestershire; everything is stated with wonderful exactness as to the price of every article of consumption for man and beast, and the quantities of each article consumed.

In this year (1507) was celebrated the Feast of the Epiphany at Thornbury Castle by a party of 459, of whom 134 were gentry. The religious services of the day were rendered more impressive by the presence of the Abbot of Kingswood, and the choir consisted of eighteen men and nine boys.⁴

The actual amount of the income of this nobleman, Lord Bagot informs me, he has never yet been able to discover throughout the Stafford MSS. This valuable collection, comprised in 13 folio volumes, is now safely deposited amongst his Lordship's archives. The MSS. are of various ages and descriptions. Two cartularies contain copies of deeds, creations of nobility, and other matters of moment.

The eldest son of this last-named Duke was Henry Stafford, who was restored in blood, but admitted only to the barony of Stafford in 1547. The great estates, says Camden, writing in 1607, which the Staffords had gained by their honourable marriages, are all fled and scattered, in lieu whereof they enjoy a happy security.

A small provision was granted to this Baron out of these immense estates which had been forfeited. Afterwards a grant was made to him of Stafford Castle, but the whole property yielded only the small yearly sum of 317*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* These were all the possessions which he and his wife had to live upon. He could not sing or say with the good Countess of Pembroke, in her mis-metred lines

"From many noble Progenitors I hold
Transmitted lands, castles, and honours which they swayed of old."

Wood speaks of him as a man of great "virtue, learning, and piety," who, in a calm and innocent retirement, endeavoured to avert his mind from his misfortunes by a close application to literature, and in assisting others who were busied in similar employments. At his suggestion, the well-

⁴ *Archæologia*, vol. xxv. p. 323.

known Metrical Chronicle, "The Mirror for Magistrates," was undertaken, and, through his influence, it was licensed.⁵

Like the Shepherd Lord Clifford, he might have been the happiest of his race, and falling upon quiet times, was enabled, like him, to indulge the peaceful and thoughtful disposition which his early fortunes had produced.

In 1556, Lord Stafford appears to have compiled a catalogue of books remaining in Stafford Castle. In ten years afterwards a very different list of such books as remained was made out—a touching fact, as many of them had doubtless been parted with from necessity. Lord Bagot says, that about this time "the great house of Stafford was fast approaching its end, reduced from powerful princes to the most distressed and needy individuals." The peer whose father, as we have seen, had entertained four hundred and fifty-nine persons at his board, was obliged to part even with his silver spoons to procure actual subsistence. His grandson, Roger Stafford, Sir Harris Nicolas observes, was actually denied the dignity of Baron, which he claimed on the death of Henry, the fifth Baron, a bachelor, *on the ground of his poverty*, and as he had become the brother-in-law of a joiner, and the uncle of a shoemaker, it would have been a mockery to have encircled his brows with a coronet. Truly

"The bows of the mighty men were broken."

This nobleman, Henry, Baron Stafford, standing, as it were, amidst the ruins which the ambition of his ancestors had caused to be scattered around him, when "considering the days of old, and the years that were past," might yet be thankful that he enjoyed the "happy security" of which Camden speaks, and that, although deprived of the vast wealth, and of the almost unlimited power possessed by his forefathers, his humble and peaceful lot altogether exempted him from the fearful vicissitudes to which they had been subjected.

Had he, indeed, repined at his fate; had he sighed for what Johnson enumerates—

"The golden canopy, the glittering plate,
The regal palace, the luxurious board,
The liv'ried army, and the menial lord,"

⁵ Athen. Oxon., I. 264.

the same great man and real poet might, if living, have thus addressed him, and, when we regard his circumstances and his place of residence, not inaptly—

“ Speak thou whose thoughts at humble peace repine,
Shall Wolsey's wealth, with Wolsey's end be thine!
Or liv'st thou now, with safer pride content,
The wisest justice *on the banks of Trent* ?
For, why did Wolsey near the steeps of fate,
On weak foundations raise th' enormous weight ?
Why but to sink beneath misfortune's blow,
With louder ruin to the gulphs below ! ”

The Vanity of Human Wishes.

It may be interesting to some readers to have a specimen of the Valor, or Rent-Roll ; the following portion of it has therefore been selected, comprising the estates in Holderness, in the county of York, referred to at p. 66.

DOMINIUM DE HOLDERNES.

Preston,—Lelley et Dyke,—Spratley,—Estanwyk,—Burton Pidse,—Skeeling,—Bondbristwyk,—Kayngham,—Outhorn,—Withornese,—Kilnese,—Esynghon,—Skeftling,—Barowe,—Skipse-maner,—Pauleflete,—Skipse-burgus,—Hedon,—Cleton,—Lanwath,—Moys,—Tainstall,—Dunceley,—Helpston,—Holdernes,—Kayngham Mersk,—Littel Humbr,—Brustwick,—Berneston,—¹

Somma Totalis valoris omnium dominiorum, maneriorum, terrarum et tenementorum dictorum infra dominium predictum, sicut supra continetur, 949*l.* 11*s.* 4½*d.* unde de —

	£	s.	d.
Redd' et firm'	548	15	11½
Exit' Husbond'	267	6	5½
Annual' Casual'	86	8	5
Perquis' Cur'	47	0	7
Somma Total' deduction' predict' ibidem hoc anno, sicut supra continetur,	118 <i>l.</i>	0 <i>s.</i>	9½ <i>d.</i> unde de —

	£	s.	d.
Redd' resolut'		13	10
Relaxac' redd' cum decas redd' et firm'	24	16	8½
Feod' vad' et stipend' ministrorum	9	14	6
Expen' senescalli cum necessariis	14	3	10
Reparacion' hoc anno	7	11	1
Cust' Husbond' cum stipend' Prepos' et Famulor' ejusdem, reparacion' dom' maner', Husbond' cum emcione bladi et stauri	55	18	3½
Amerc' et al' casual' posit' in respect'	3	8	8
Decima Herbag' solut'	1	13	10½

Et valet ultra hoc anno.—831*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.*—Inde Deduct' in Feod' et vad' diversor'

¹ I am indebted to the kindness of Sir Charles Anderson, Bart., who, on comparison of this list with the names of places in Holderness, as given in Poulson's History, remarks that the existing names closely correspond with the above, with some slight variations, such as Sproutley, Elstanwick, Burstwick, &c. Moys is now written Meaux. Barrowe may be Barrow

on Humber, in Lincolnshire. In a MS. at Burton Constable, in the possession of Sir Clifford Constable, Lord Paramount of Holderness, Sir Charles finds Bond Burstwick, Lambthorpe, Hildeston, and Marisc, possibly identical with Lanwath, Helpston, and Mersk, in the list above given. Dunceley in that record may be Nun-keeling, and Cleton may be Carleton.

Officiar,' cum salario cappellani, et in expens' senesc,' Rec' et Aud' allocat' in compoto Receptoris ibidem, hujus anno, ut patet ibidem, 46*l.* 4*s.* 7½*d.*

Et valet ultra onera annual' hoc anno, 785*l.* 7*s.* 11½*d.* Inde Deduct' in annuitat' Johannis Constable, armigeri, 10*l.*, Roberti Danby 2*l.*, et Thome Berston 10 marc., eisdem per dominum concess., ut patet per comp' Receptoris predictum, 15*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

Et valet ultra hoc anno—769*l.* 19*s.* 3½*d.* Inde Deduct' in reparacion' ibidem hoc anno fact,' et in dicto compoto recept' allocat' (14*l.* 3*s.* 1*d.*) et respectuat' (15*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*) cum expens' for' et necessariis (6*s.* 8*d.*) ut patet in eodem compoto. —32*l.* 12*s.* 1*d.*

Et valet ultra hoc anno clare—737*l.* 7*s.* 2½*d.* qui faciunt in marc' 1106 marc' —6½*d.*

EXTRACTS FROM THE FERMOR ACCOUNTS, A.D. 1580.

BY EVELYN PHILIP HIRLEY, ESQ.

THE following extracts relate to the executorship accounts, on the death of Thomas Fermor, of Somerton, in the county of Oxford, who died August 8, 1580. He was a younger brother of Sir John Fermor, ancestor of the Earls of Pomfret, and progenitor of a family long seated at Somerton, and afterwards at Tusmore, in the same county, extinct, I believe, on the death of William Fermor, of Tusmore, in 1828.

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1827, (vol. xcvii., part 1, p. 113,) will be found an account of Somerton, and of this family; and also in "Baker's Northamptonshire," under Croughton (vol. i., page 599), is a pedigree of the Fermors of Tusmore.

Thomas Fermor, by his will, dated June 15, 1580, appointed George Shirley, Esq., afterwards Sir George Shirley, of Staunton Harold, Baronet, whom he calls "his loving kinsman and friend,"¹ his principal executor; and among many other particular directions enjoined as follows:—

"I will that my executors shall, as soon as conveniently may be after my death, provide at my charge six fair large paper books, in every of which shall be written by Francis Capp, now my apprentice, if he be living, and at convenient leasure, and in his absence by Richard Jackson, my apprentice, and if they both die or be absent, by some person hired yearly for 20s. at my charges, the true copy of this my last will and testament, and a true and perfect rental of all my lands, tenements, and hereditaments, and of all my leases; and also a true and perfect inventory of all such jewels, plate, money, bedding, napery, brass, pewter, utensils of house, horses, beasts, sheep, and other goods, lands, cattels, whatsoever I shall have at the time of my death, and also all my debts due to me, or by me: and in every of the said six books, my executors shall yearly cause to be written particularly the sole contents and effect of their audit, and that is, how much money they do receive, of whom, and for what cause, and what they did disburse, to whom, and for what cause; of the which six books my will is, that every of my five executors shall have one in his own custody, and that the sixth shall remain in my house at Somerton, in the custody of the forenamed James Smith, to the use of my heir, by the which he knowing what I leave, and what is spent, he may call for that remaineth.

"And I will that every of my executors shall, at the end of the same audit, set his name yearly to the foot of their account in every of the six books, and I bequeath to every of my executors coming to the said audit, serving and taking the same account, and setting his hand to every of the six books, five pounds yearly, of lawful English money, over and above the charge to be bestowed in or at the said audit, [which] with all things thereto incident, my will is, shall be defrayed at my only costs; and I will that if any executor shall not come to the said audit, or do not hear or take the account, and set his hand to every of the said six books, that then, that year wherein he fails, he shall have just nothing."

¹ He was his great nephew.

From one of the "six large paper books," now in my possession, and which formerly belonged to Sir George Shirley, the extracts which follow have been made. The book commences, in conformity with the above-recited regulations, with the will of Mr. Fermor; then follows a rental of his estates, and then an inventory of his effects, "taken the first of September, 1580." The account taken at the audit at Somerton, on the 6th of December, 1580, succeeds, which is followed by a regular annual statement of accounts, until the last audit held on the 3rd of December, 1595.

The book concludes with certain copies of releases, and other deeds, executed in 1596 and 1597, on the coming of age of Richard, son and heir of Thomas Fermor; by which it appears that Mary, mentioned in her father's will, was the only surviving daughter of Thomas Fermor, and had married [in 1590] Francis Plowden, of Plowden, in the county of Salop, Esq.

It would appear also that Richard was about five years old at his father's death in 1580; and was until his seventeenth year brought up at home, under a private tutor, who was paid 40*s.* per annum. In 1592, he was entered of the Inner Temple, and at the same time put upon an allowance of 80*l.* per annum.

The annual value of the estates is estimated at 221*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

Extracts from the "accoumpts taken at the audit begone at Somerton, in the county of Oxford, the vi day of December, in the xxij yere of the reigne of o^r Sou'eigne Lady Quene Elizabeth, by George Shirley, esquier, Nicholas Farmor and Benett Wynchcombe, gentlemen, Wyllm Mercer & James Smyth, yeomen, executors of the last will and testament of Thomas Farmor, esquier, deceased. 1580."

Relating to the means taken to obtain the wardship of Richard Fermor, son and heir of Thomas Fermor, Esq.

MR. SHIRLEY'S ACCOMPTE.

Payments :

It. for horsemeate when he went to deale wth the L. Compton for R. Farmor iiii^s viii^d

MR. PULTON'S² ACCOMPTE.

It. paid to Mr. Pulton for his travell about the obtaynyng the wardshipp, drawyng both the offyces and the rates, and sytting uppon the same offyces vi^{li} xvi^s

MR. BENETT WINCHCOMBE'S ACCOMPTS.

It. geven to S ^r Christopher Hattons man for wrytyng a l ^r e to my L. Treasurer	x ^s
It. geven M ^r Bradshawe, w ^{ch} first moved my Lady to deale in yt	x ^{li}
It. p ^r mysed M ^r Medlie v ^{li} , & p ^d him iiii ^{li} ; geven to M ^r Barnard, one of my L. Secretary's iiii ^{li}	vi ^{li} iii ^{li}
It. geven to sped my Ladies chamberlain	iii ^{li}
It. for wrytyng ii letters to my Lady Bourley	xii ^d
It. geven to my Lady Bourley for obtayning the wardship	ccl ^{li}

FUNERAL EXPENSES.

Anno 1580.

It. p ^d to John Warter & Francis Brampton, for 158 yards & half of blacke cloth, for the buryall of my uncle	lxxxxv ^{li} viii ^s x ^d
It. p ^d for a mournynge clocke for my self	iii ^{li}

² Ferdinando Pulton, of Boreton, in the county of Buckingham, one of the most celebrated lawyers of the day.

It. p ^d for ii dozen Scutchins of all sorts, xlviii ^s ; and allowed Capp his charge taryeng for them, vi ^s vid	liiii ^s vi ^d
It. to John Horskep ^r for rosen, wax, and spice	xi ^s
It. to the barber for boweling my m ^r	v ^s
It. to the husbandman to buy wax at Banbery	x ^s
It. for veale at the funerall day	xix ^s vi ^d
It. geven the precher	x ^s
It. to Lacy for spice	ii ^s
It. to Pollard for making the boyes clothes, and the poore mens gownes	iii ^s viii ^d
It. for cloth for the hearse	xxii ^d
It. to the joyner for a monethe's work	xi ^s vi ^d
1582.	
It. geven to poore folke to praye for M ^r Fermor	iii ^s vi ^d

EXPENSES OF THE TESTATOR'S TOMB.

1582.	
It. that he laid out for the testator's tombe	xx ^{li}
It. his man's charg's going about the same	iii ^s
It. to the waynman that brought the tombe	iiii ^{li}
It. for the waynman's charge & theire cattels	iii ^s viij ^d
It. to the mason for making the foundat'on of the tombe	vii ^s
It. for the foundat'on of the tombe more then is before sett downe	xv ^d
1583.	
It. for hinde and a lock for the grate w ^{ch} standeth before the tombe	xviii ^d
It. for Gabryll Royl's ³ bord before the audytt began, for fortnyght & iij days, & for his man's bord for iij weika, in making the tombe	xii ^s vi ^d
It. for Gabryll Royl's bord and his men's for iij weicks after the audytt	xv ^s
It. for his horse meat v weeks & 4 days	v ^s
It. to Thomas Row for making the grate, and teasterne over the tombe	xv ^s
It. to the p'son for ii oken planks towards making of the grate befor the tombe	v ^s
It. to Hawis, of Goddington, for paynting the tombe	iiij ^s
It. paid the tombe maker more then his bargaine was for making the same	xl ^s

PAYMENTS RELATING TO THE DRESS, &c., OF THE CHILDREN.

Anno 1580.

It. a pillion, a cloth, and other furniture for my cozen Mary	xlvi ^{li}
P ^d for xii weickes bord for Mr. Richard Farmor and his man, at vii ^s the weicke	iiij ^{li} iiij ^s
allowed to pay the scholemaster	x ^s
It. for a clocke, clothe, and other apparell ^r and necessary things for M ^{res} Mary	xlvi ^{li} i ^d
It. a caule of bewgle for Mary Farmor, and a lyninge to yt	v ^s viii ^d
It. paid M ^r Farmor, that he paid for making the children's mourning apparell	ix ^s viij ^d
It. a yard of fressadowe ⁴ for M ^{res} Mary, vii ^s vi ^d ; half yard durance, xviii ^d ; a bugle, call, and a lyninyge, iiiij ^s viii ^d ; an ell ^r bone lace, xviii ^d ; iiij calles, xvi ^d ; an ell cameryck, x ^s ; an ell holland, iiiij ^s ; half ell holland, iiiij ^s	xxxiii ^{li} vi ^d

³ Gabryel Royle or Royley was son of Richard Royley, both well-known "tomb-makers" at Burton-upon-Trent. They were the parties who, about this time, also erected a tomb for John Shirley, father of George, still remaining in the church of Bredon-on-the-Hill, in the county of Leicester. The neighbourhood of Burton is celebrated for alabaster. At the end of the executorship accounts is a copy of the indenture between Mr. Shirley and the Royleys for the erection of the tomb. It is worded in a very similar manner to that for John Shirley, before referred to, and which is printed in "Stem-

mata Shirleiana," p. 60. Here, however, an effigy of a lady was to be also contracted for. This agreement will be found appended to these extracts from the Fermor accounts. (See p. 185.)

⁴ Fressadowe, Ital. *frisada*, which, according to Florio, signifies "the stuffe called frizado," probably a finer kind of frize or rugg-cloth. He gives also, "*Frisetta*, fine frize, cotton, bayes, or penystone; also fine frizado."—*Ital. Dict.*, 1611. Durance was possibly the same tissue which was termed "cloth of lasting."

It. an ounce of blacke silke, xxii ^d ; to the caryer for bringing downe these things, ii ^d	ii ^s iiiii ^d
It. for a pare of shewes for M ^{res} Mary	vii ^d
Anno 1581.	
It. p ^d for a payre of knitt hose for M ^{res} Mary Farmor	ii ^s
It. p ^d for a payre of shuse	viii ^d
It. for a payre of gloves	vi ^d
It. for vi dozen of basket lace	x ^s
It. for silk rybband	iiij ^d
It. for pyns	ii ^d
It. for v yards & half of duple morkadoe ^s for a petticoat	ix ^s ii ^d
It. for ij ounces & half de q ^t of partyrmet lace, ^s at ii ^s p ^t ownce	v ^s iii ^d
It. for a q ^t of murrey saraset	xv ^d
It. for an ownce of statut lace	xiii ^d
It. for eys and clasps	ii ^d
It. for iiij p ^t of yellow taffita for sleives for her silke gowne	vii ^s viiii ^d
It. for mockadoe for a worke-day gowne	xii ^s
It. to the taylor for making ii gownes and a petticoate	xiiij ^s
It. for vi yards of cloth for smocks	vi ^s iiij ^d
It. for an ell of holland to make sleives, gorgets, and coysa	vii ^s
It. for ij cales, parcell silver, and gylt	xiiij ^s
It. for a cale and shadoe ⁷	iiij ^s
It. delyvered Mrs. Mary, when she went to my <i>L. garrad's</i> [Gerrards]	iiij ^s
It. to her that loked to her when she was sicke	iiij ^s iiiii ^d
It. geven Doctor Smith for going to my cosine Mary	x ^s
It. for a greine cote, a hatt, and a vellet girdell for Mr. Richard Fermor	xvi ^s x ^d
It. to the scowlemaster for his whole yere's payns, from Christmas last till Christmas next, for Mr. Richard Fermor	xl ^s
1582.	
It. for the borde of Mr. Richard Fermor and James his s ^v nte, for one whole yere, at viii ^s the weke, viz. from Christmas last to Christmas next	xx ^u xvi ^s
It. for suger-candie to avoyde flemc, his mouthe and throte being sore	ii ^d
It. for a dozen of poynts ^s for hym to playe w th	iii ^d
It. for ij litle boxes to kepe his poynts and counters in	iii ^d
It. for fyggs to victor w th in lent, at dyv's times [?]	vi ^d
It. Mr. Richard Fermor gave awaye at New-yere's tide	vi ^d
It. for pynnes for hym to play w th at Christmas	ii ^d
It. for a silke string to tie his new knife	i ^d
It. for claspes for his shert-bands	i ^d
It. for a penner and inckehorne	v ^d
It. for iiij elnes and a qua'r of hollande to make hym shertes, at xxi ^d th'elne	vii ^s v ^d

⁶ "Morkadoc, mockado, a stuff made in imitation of velvet, and sometimes called mock velvet."—*Nares*.

⁶ Lace of four kinds is here named,—bone, partyrmet, basket, and statute lace. Randal Holme, in the Academy of Armory, 1688, (B. iii., c. 3,) gives many terms connected with the fabrication of lace, and divides the craft, seemingly, betwixt the two principal classes of "bone lace and parchment lace-makers." The former has been defined as made of flaxen thread, and named from the use of bobbins of bone in the process of its manufacture. Parchemyne, passemyne, or passamaine lace, a term not noticed by *Nares*, has been explained as so termed from the parchment upon which it was worked, either as a pattern or for greater facility in the fabrication. (See Miss Strickland's note in her Life of Queen Mary, p. 235.) Cotgrave gives "*Passament*, a lace;" and Florio (Ital. Dict., 1598,) "*Pas-*

samano, any kind of lace; also bordering or garding for garments. *Passamano d'accia*, statute lace, crewell lace." (See further, Sir Fr. Madden's Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, pp. 97, 143, 253.) In Harl. MS., 1376, in a list of effects of Edward VI., is mentioned "*passemyne lace*;" as also in Harl. MS. 1419, and in the Custom-house Rates of Mary, printed 1582. Some confusion of terms seems to have been made between *passement* and parchment.

⁷ Cale and shadoe, a cawl and bongrace, or projecting hat. The former was occasionally set with pearls or bugles. "*Bonne-grace*, th' uppermost flap of the down-hanging taile of a French hood, whence belike our Boon-grace."—*Cotgrave*. "*Velaregli*, bonegraces, shadowes, vailles, or launes, that women use to weare on their foreheads for the sunne."—*Florio*. (See Coles, Phillips, *Nares*, &c.)

⁸ Poynts and pynnes, the ancient skittles and nine-pins.

It. for iij yards of cotton to make hym an under petticote for winter	ii ^a vi ^d
It. for a bowngrace for Mrs. Marie	vii ^a vi ^d
1583.	
It. for canvas and bombast ⁹ for the bodyes & to ware under his cote	xiii ^d
It. for garteryng and a stryng to his myttens	vi ^d
It. for a pare of pattens	viii ^d
1584.	
It. for a knyffe sheath w th a silke stryng	iiii ^d
It. for a brushe to make cleane his coote	ii ^d
It. to James Alwood for a clock for his leuery	xxv ^a
It. for wodden sooles for his pattens	ii ^d
It. for a saddle and furnytüre for him	xix ^a
1585.	
It. for an ell and d. of Lankishire cloth to make whit lynynge for his apparell	ii ^a
It. for syrops, oyntments, and other medcionable things for him in his sickness	iii ^a x ^d
It. for his losse in play at Hilsden	vi ^d
It. his token to a scholefelowe	vi ^d
It. his offeryng w th a poor maryed cople	xii ^d
It. for lethryngs & nales for his pattens	iiii ^d
1586.	
It. for a ell half of brod taffaty to make him a dublet and venytyons ¹	xii ^a
It. for ij pound of bombast for ij dubletts	iii ^a
It. gyven by him to the horskep ² at Astwell ³	vi ^d
It. for a yeard of gold lace to edg his falling bands	ii ^a
1587.	
It. for an ell and a halfe and halfe a q ^{ter} of popingiaye taffata to make hym a dublett and venetians, at xiii ^a the ell	xxi ^a ii ^d
It. for an ell and halfe and halfe a q ^{ter} of yellowe sarcenet to lay under the same	vii ^a viiii ^d
It. for an ewe bowl	xii ^d
It. for ij paier of cut finger gloves	vi ^d
It. for a shooting glove	iiii ^d
It. for fethering and bedding of vi arrowes	vi ^d
It. delyvered to M ^r Fermor ⁴ when he went to a marriage	v ^a
It. gyven in his purse when he went to Astwell	ii ^a vi ^d
1588.	
It. for a stone bow for my master ⁵	viii ^a
1589.	
It. to the smyth of Barford for mending M ^r Farmer's burding pece	iii ^a viiii ^d
1590.	
It. for iij pare of shoes and a pare of pantables ⁴	iiij ^a viiii ^d
It. to his scolemaster at Islyngton	x ^a
It. to the barber for trymyng of him	vi ^d
It. for pampilion for the hose ⁶	xii ^d
It. delyvered my m ^r at Nocke, ⁶ at the wedding	v ^a

⁹ Bombast, originally cotton, from *bombax*, low Latin; or *bombace*, Italian; or *baum-bast*, German,—all signifying cotton.—*Nares*.

¹ Venytyons, Venetians, a particular fashion of hose, or breeches, originally imported from Venice.—*Nares*.

² Astwell, in Northamptonshire, the seat of Mr. Shirley.

³ Stone-bow, a bow from which stones might be shot; a cross-bow.—*Nares*.

⁴ Pantables, pantable, a sort of high shoe or slipper; perhaps corrupted from *pantofle*.—*Nares*.

⁵ Pampilion. Hollyband, in his "Treasurie of the French Tongue," 1580, renders "*habillement de bureau*, a coate of chaunge-

able colours for seruantes; slight rugge or pampilion." *Pampée*, according to Roquefort, was the name of a flowered tissue (*pampe, fleurion*). May not pampilion, a shaggy cloth, be a name derivable from *pannus pilosus*?

⁶ Nocke, i.e. Noke, in the hundred of Ploughley, and county of Oxford. (See the Guide to the Architectural Antiquities in the Neighbourhood of Oxford, p. 201.) Here was the residence of Joan Bradshaw, grandmother of Mr. Richard Fermor, and here his sister was married to Mr. Plowden. Joan Bradshaw died in 1598, and was here buried. Here also was buried Benet or Benedict Winchcombe, in 1623, one of the executors of Mr. Fermor.

It. dd him more at the same time	xviii ^d
It. delivered James Alwood, xxvii Mali, to buy his m ^r a Greeke grammer, a Sallust, a penner, a inckhorne, pap ^r and a satchell to carrie his books 1591.	vi ^a viii ^d
It. half yard of hare colored vellett, xi ^a ; 4 silver compast bettons for the boot hose toppes, ii ^a vi ^d ; a pare of hare coloured stockings, vi ^a vi ^d ; a pare of Sypres ⁷ gartera, v ^a x ^d	xxv ^a x ^d
paid M ^r Blunt for a yere's scolinge	vi ^{ll}

EXTRACTS FROM PAYMENTS RELATING TO TRAVELLING EXPENSES.

Anno 1580.

It. spent in caryeng M ^r Richard Fermor	iii ^a vi ^d
It. paid for the charge at Oxford in fetchinge S ^r John Fetiplace's mony, beyng vii of us	xvi ^a viii ^d
It. my dyett and my man's in London, From the xx th of October untill the xxix of November, beyng 38 days	vi ^{ll} xiiii ^a
It. for fyer and drinke duryng that tyme	vii ^a
It. for my horse meate duryng that tyme, w th shewyng and mending my saddle	iii ^{ll}
It. paid for boote hier goyng to the courte & once from London, iiiii ^a ; for feryeng twise ov ^r at Fullam, w th o ^r horses goynge to the courte, and divers tymes to Westm ^r , iii ^a vi ^d	vii ^a vi ^d
It. for washing my shirts duryng the tyme I laye at London	ii ^a vi ^d
It. o ^r charge at London, on Wensday, at the Bell in Holborne	ix ^a vi ^d
It. goyng to Ottilands, our supper and horse meat ther	v ^a
It. o ^r diners and suppers on Saturday, w th ii of my lord treasurer's men ⁸	xi ^a
It. John Birtwesell's chardge goynge into Hatfordshire to my lord chaun- cillor's, ⁹ to have the comysions sealed	xvi ^a viii ^d

EXTRACTS FROM MISCELLANEOUS EXPENSES.

Anno 1580.

It. p ^d to S ^r Thomas Lucy for his legacye	v ^{ll}
It. to the cooke for his quarter's wages, and that w ^{ch} was geven him	xxx ^a
It. paid Agnes the bruer her half yere's wags, x ^a ; and geven her in recom- pence of her service, iiiii ^a ; allowed her for x ^{ll} of hoppers, v ^a x ^d ; and for spigotts, ii ^d	xx ^a
It. allowed her for her lyvery ¹	x ^a
It. to Thomas Roudde the miller for his half yere's wags	xx ^a
It. to Mathewe the shepperd for his quarter's wags	vi ^a viii ^d
It. geven him	iii ^a iii ^d
It. for iiiii bushell of maslyn, ² at ii ^a ii ^d	viii ^a viii ^d
It. to the prest for his wags dew at Midsom ^r	x ^a
It. geven a poore prest	iii ^a iii ^d
It. to Symon that he spent in upping ³ the swanes	x ^a viii ^d
It. for vi great pap ^r bookes and for bringing them downe	xxviii ^a

Anno 1581.

It. for drawing a scutching of armes	xii ^a
It. for a catechism and a psalter for M ^r Richard Fermor	xii ^a
It. for the armes of my m ^r and old m ^r , and setting upp the same	vii ^a vi ^d
Item, p ^d a carier for bringing upp 100 ^{ll} and a capase of writings	iii ^a vi ^d
It. p ^d to my L. Treasurer for the lease of the lande	cccviii ^{ll} xviii ^a x ^d
It. bestowed a breakfast uppon some of my lord's men	ix ^a vi ^d

1583.

It. to the glacyer for setting upp the armes in the church	ii ^a vi ^d
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⁷ Sypres, cyprus, or crape garters.⁸ Lord Treasurer: William Cecil, Lord Burghley.⁹ Lord Chancellor: Sir Thomas Bromley was Lord Chancellor at this period.¹ Lyuery, livery, delivery, here in the sense of board wages.² Maslyn, mastlin, or maslin, anythingcompounded of mixed materials. Here used for mixed grain, such as rye and wheat.—*Nares*.³ Upping the swans, now corruptly called *hopping*, i. e. marking them. (See Transactions of the Archaeological Institute at Lincoln, p. 310.)

- It. for payling about the windowes in the church yard vii^d
 It. to the cutler of Banbery for making cleane the ii hand sword iiii^d
 1585.
 It. for a pynt of sallet oyle to oyle the armor x^d
 It. to the armorer for himself and his man, for wags, meat, & drinke xii^s
 1595.

It. paid John Hoberoft and Rich. Adams, of Fretwell, the 7 of December, 1595, in full recompence of ther demande for a chalice and cover; the sayd Adams d my uncle, Tho. Fermor, when the churchwardens of Fretwell were comaunded to p'vide a communion cuppe, at w^{ch} tyme he dd' them uppon the chalice xl^s, & dd' a bill of his hand for the receyt of the same, w^{ch} as they say weyed 14 oz., valued by them at 4^s 8^d ev'ry oz.: so paid them more then the xl^s they furst rec. xxv^s iiii^d

EXTRACTS FROM MISCELLANEOUS "RECEYTS."

Anno 1580.

- It. received at Som'ton at my goynge to London, w^{ch} was in my uncle's caskett the xth of August, 1580 xv^{ll}
 It. rec. of S^r John Fetiplace uppon an obligac'on the vth of October lxxv^{ll} xiii^s iiii^d
 It. rec. of S^r John Danver uppon an obligac'on the 29 October ccccxviii^{ll}
 It. rec. of old gold, one staw ryall,⁴ a duckett, half a duckett, a crusadowe,⁵ half an angell, vi^s in silver liii^j vi^d
 1587.

Receyved of Thom's Mountagne for a bloudshed⁶ made by his wife on Edward Bollis, iiii^s iiii^d; and for a rescue by his wife made on Alexander Hamond, v^s vii^s iiii^d

The rarity of evidences relating to menumental art and the sculptors by whom sepulchral memorials were executed, must render the following document, although comparatively of a late period, highly interesting to many readers. The tomb and effigies still exist at Somerton. See Notices of the family memorials there, with a pedigree, and a view of the church, *Gent. Mag.* vol. xcvii. pt. 1, p. 113. See also Collins' *Peerage*, ed. 1812, vol. iv. p. 200.

Taus Indenture, made y^e twentyth day of September in y^e three and twentieth yeare of y^e Raigne of our Sou'aigne Ladye Elizabeth, by y^e grace of God of England Fraunce and Ireland Queen, Defender of y^e Faith, &c. Between George Shirley of Staunton Harrolde in y^e county of Leic' esquier, one of y^e execut' of y^e testament and last will of Thomas Fermor of Sommerton in y^e county of Oxen' esquier deceased, of y^e one p'ty. And Richard Roiley of Burton uppō Trente in y^e county of Stafford Tumbe maker, and Gabriell Roiley of Burton uppō Trente afforesaid Tumbe maker, sonne of y^e said Richard Roiley, of ye other p'ty. Witnesseth, y^e it is by these pñts graunted covenanted cōdiscended and agreed uppō for, by and between, y^e said p'ties for them selves, and all and singular y^e heires execut' and assignes of all, and any, of y^e said pñtes, and of every of them, for, uppō, and cōcerninge, all and singular y^e grauntes, articles, devises, covenantes, agreem^{ts}, matters, and thinges, herafter in these pñts mentioned or cōtained, whereon y^e said Richard and Gabriell Roiley, for, and in cōsideratiō of y^e sommes of money herafter in these pñtes mentioned, Do bargain, covenaut, and agree, for them, and every of them, and for th'eires execut' and administrat^{rs}, of either of them, and every of them, to and with y^e said George Shirley his execut' and assignes and every of them, by these pñtes, artfificially cunninggly decently and substaancially to devise, worke, sett up, and p'fectly and fully finish at Somerton afforesaid in ye said county of Oxenford, before the Feaste of Pentecoste commonly called Witsontide next ensewinge y^e date herof, at or neare y^e grave of y^e said Thomas Fermor there, a very faire Tumbe of very good faire well chosen and durable Alabaster stone, containeinge in lengthe six foote and a halfe by y^e standard, and of y^e breadth of fower Feete by the standard, and of y^e height of five Foote by y^e standard, wth two endes and one (two erased) uttermost syde all throughe out adwrought adorned gilded engraved portraited and sett forth the all as herafter enseweth;—That is to saie, ye said Richard and Gabriell Roiley their execut' assignes or some one of them, shall and will worke, make,

⁴ Star-ryal, properly spur-royal, a gold coin of the value of 15s.

⁵ Crusador or cruzado, a Portuguese coin of uncertain value.

⁶ Bloodshed, bloodwit, the fine imposed for shedding blood.—*Cowel*.

laye, and place, artificially substantially durably and decently in or on y^e uppermost p'te of y^e said Tumble, and on ye South side of y^e churche of Somerton aforesaid, a very faire decent and well p'portioned picture or portrature of a gentleman representing y^e said Thomas Fermor wth furniture and ornaments in armour, and about his necke a double cheyne of gold wth creste and helmette under his head, wth sword and dagger by his side, and a lion at his feete and in or on the uttermost parte of the uppermost parte of the said Tumble a decent and p'fect picture or portrature of a faire gentlewoman wth a Frenchehood, edge and abilliment, wth all other apparell furniture jewells ornaments and thinges in all respectes usuall, decent, and semely, for a gentlewoman. And y^e they y^e said Richard and Gabriell Roiley their execut' or assignes or some one of them shall and will devise worke and sett upp artificially in or on y^e uttermost syde of y^e said Tombe decent and usuall pictures of, or for, one sonne or (*sic*) two daughters of y^e said Thomas Fermor wth their severall names of Baptism over or under y^e said pictures, severally and orderly wth scutcheons in their handes, wherof y^e said sonne to be pictured in armour and as liveinge, and y^e one of y^e said daughters to be pictured in decent order and as liveinge, and y^e other daughter to be pictured as dieinge in y^e cradle or swathe, and y^e they y^e said Richard and Gabriell Roiley their execut' or assignes or some of them shall devise, engrave, worke and sett upp artificially durably and substantially in, on, or about y^e said Tombe fower sheldes or escutcheons, y^e one thereof to conteyne and represent y^e very trewe armes of ye said Thomas Fermor onely, the second y^e trewe armes of y^e said Thomas Fermor wth the trewe armes of Fraunces y^e firste wife of y^e said Thomas, the third they trewe armes of y^e said Thomas and Bridget his second wife, and the fouerth y^e trewe armes of ye said Bridgette onely. And y^e same to be done in such places of y^e said Tumble as mooste maie serve for y^e shewe and settinge forth of y^e same Tombe; and Further y^e they y^e said Richard and Gabriell their execut' or assignes or some of them, shall and will as well worke make ingrave and sett out wth good and convenable oiles golde and colours round about y^e edge and creste of y^e said Tumble wth or in one rowe of great and faire gilte engraven letters, ye epitaph and sentence hereafter ensuing. That is to saie :—

Thomas Fermor armigero, viro animi magnitudine contra hostes, beneficentia erga doctos, clementia et bonitate erga suos pietate erga omnes admirabili Domino huius territorii benignissimo et novæ scolæ Fundatori optimo in p'petu' sui suæq' coniugis Brigittæ Feminae letissimæ memoriam ex testamento executores sui hoc monumentum flentes erexerunt. Obiit vero anno domini millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo, die augusti octavo.

As also all y^e and all manner of y^e devisinge coloringe gildinge garnishinge workmanshippe cariage conveyinge settinge up and full finishinge of y^e said Tumble, and all other thinges whatsoever concerninge y^e said Tumble, shall bee all throughley at or by th'only perill paines travell costes and charges of y^e said Richard and Gabriell their execut' administrats' and assignes in all thinges and respectes, (Savage and excepted) That y^e said George Shirley his execut' and assignes wthin one month next after request to them or any of them to bee made by y^e said Richard and Gabriell or either of them or the execut's or assignes of either of them shall appointe find and send to Burton aforesaid convenable and sufficient waines cartes and cattle to drawe leade carye and bring all ye peeces and p'tes of y^e said Tumble and all thinges therunto belonginge and necessarie, to y^e church of Sommerton aforesaid, and also to cause y^e foundation of y^e said Tumble to be made by a masonne, at y^e costes and charges of y^e said George Shirley his execut' and assignes. And the said George Shirley covenauenteth and graunteth for him his heires execut's administrats' and assignes and every of them, to and with y^e said Richard Roiley and Gabriell Roiley and either of them, and y^e execut's and assignes of either of them, by these p'fites, that he y^e said George his execut' or assignes, for and in consideration of all and singular y^e former covenauentes grauntes and agreeentes, by y^e said Richard and Gabriell made as aforesaid by these p'fite, and for the said Tumble to be well made and fully finished accordinge to y^e trewe intente of these p'nts, shall and will well and truly paie or cause to be paid to ye said Richard and Gabriell Roiley or to one of them, or to y^e execut's or assignes of either of them, y^e full somme of Forty poundes of lawefull mony of England in manner and forme followinge. That is to saie, Five poundes wthin eight daies next after th'ensealinge herof, other Five poundes wthin twenty daies then next after, tenne poundes at or before y^e Feast daie of y^e nativity of our Lord God next cominge after y^e date herof, other x.li at or before y^e Feast of Easter there next after followinge, and other x.li bein y^e rest and residue of y^e said Forty poundes at such tyme and when y^e said Tumble shalbe made and fully Finished accordinge to y^e trewe entent of these p'nts. In Witnes wherof they p'ties First above named to these Indentures Interchangeably and ether to ether have put their handes and seales, y^e daye and yeare First above written.

Sealed and Delivered by y^e wthin named Richard Roiley unto Thomas Poole to y^e use of y^e wthin named George Sherley y^e xxvii daye of October in y^e presence of Will'm Tortone and John Toplines and Thomas Nodine.

**ADDITIONAL PARTICULARS FOR THE BIOGRAPHY OF THREE
OXFORDSHIRE WRITERS,**

**GEFFREY OF MONMOUTH, WALTER MAP, ARCHDEACON OF OXFORD,
AND ALEXANDER DE SWERFORD.**

COMMUNICATED TO THE HISTORICAL SECTION, AT THE MEETING OF THE INSTITUTE AT OXFORD

BY SIR THOMAS PHILLIPPS, BART., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.

MANY who, in past ages, made themselves conspicuous either by their actions or their writings, lay under great disadvantage, because their deeds before the invention of printing, were mentioned in few books, sometimes probably only in one, and therefore the knowledge of them was liable to be destroyed by a single accident.

Moreover, their exploits or works having been recorded in characters which have grown obsolete with the lapse of time, the knowledge of their reputation was confined to those only who were capable of reading those characters.

Therefore, all the events, which can throw additional light upon their history, should be collected together, and made accessible to the public by printing ;—it becomes even a duty in those, who discover such facts, to make them known. With this persuasion, the following memorials of the lives of three celebrated writers connected with Oxfordshire, collected from the Godstow Cartulary, are presented to the Archaeological Institute.

Their names are, Geffrey Artur, generally called Geffrey of Monmouth, author of the “*Historia Britonum* :” Walter Map, author of “*Lampoons against the Cistercians*,” a new monastic order which had sprung up a little before his time ; and Alexander de Swerford, supposed to be the author of the work entitled “*De Scaccario*.”

Geffrey Artur stands first in priority of time ; partly cotemporary with him lived Walter Map ; and Alexander de Swerford follows in the reign of Henry III.

We meet with the mention of Geffrey Artur in the Godstow Cartulary, in two charters granted to that monastery by Walter de Wallingford, Archdeacon of Oxford, from A.D. 1104 to 1151. They are given at pages 95—97.

I will make observations upon two points in Geffrey’s

History. He says Walter gave him a "*very old*" (*vetus-tissimum*) book. Having, as I trust, proved that the book was given to Geoffrey before the year 1152, it is not likely that Geoffrey would have called a book written since the Conquest by the Normans a *very old* book; and yet in the latter part of the work he speaks of the entry of the Normans into England. This can only be accounted for by his additions to the original translation in a second edition. It would, therefore, be very desirable to have the text of his translation as it was *before* he made these interpolations.

Where Geoffrey de Monmouth was born is, I believe, not positively known. It is *said* at Monmouth, but I have met with no decisive evidence of that fact. My reason for making this query is, that a family surnamed, of Monmouth, existed for many generations at or near Long Marston, in Gloucestershire, and several of this family were named Galfridus, as appears by ancient charters. The inquiry might arise, therefore, did this family spring from the same origin as the celebrated historian, or may his descent be traced to the family in question?

Mr. Wright, in the Preface to his edition of Walter Map's poems, has industriously collected together such particulars of the Archdeacon's history as were then known to him.

Mr. Wright observes that the greater portion of our information relating to Walter Map, or Mapes, is contained in the "*Speculum Ecclesiæ*," an inedited work of Giraldus Cambrensis, his intimate friend, who states that Walter was a favourite of Henry II., and was esteemed by that king for his extensive learning and his courtly manners. He obtained by the king's favour various ecclesiastical dignities, being Canon of Salisbury and St. Paul's, Precentor of Lincoln, incumbent of Westbury in Co. Gloucester; and in 1197, he was made Archdeacon of Oxford.¹ He visited Rome between 1193 and 1205.

Mr. Wright doubts his having written the poem, "*de Palpone*," because he does not find that Walter lived at or near Wimborne; but it is not unlikely, for, as Wimborne was in the Diocese of Sarum, he may have been a chaplain, or the incumbent there, prior to his becoming a Canon of Sarum.

¹ Latin Poems attributed to Walter Mapes; edit. Camd. Soc. 1841. Pref.

p. v. Le Neve, in his "*Fasti*," says, he became Archdeacon of Oxford in 1196.

With regard to the origin of Walter Map, I am inclined to believe Map is a Welsh name, and, if so, it is probable that Walter was a Welshman. Hence may have arisen the friendship between this triad of illustrious writers, namely, Walter, Giraldus Cambrensis, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Walter Map took the trouble to convert Giraldus's account of Wales into a poem in that doggerel species of Latin verse, peculiar to himself, thereby showing that he felt a strong interest in the history of that country.

Walter Map had a nephew living between 1183 and 1197, named Philip Map, and the name existed about 200 years since, in the person of Leonard Mapes, whose Will, dated 1620, is in the Prerogative Office, and the name may possibly exist still, under that mode of spelling it.

Leland, Bale, and Pits, are said to state that Walter Map was the Archdeacon, who gave the ancient Welsh MS. of the "*Historia Britonum*" to Geoffrey of Monmouth. The statement, however, that he received it from Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, (cf. Pits, p. 217,) cannot relate to Walter Map, for by the following remarks it will be shown that it was not possible he should have been the donor.

Walter Map was made Archdeacon of Oxford in 1196 or 1197.

Geffrey says, "While I fell into a train of thought on the History of the King of Britain, (wondering that Gildas and Bede had said nothing of those kings which inhabited Britain before the birth of Christ, nothing even of Arthur, nor of many others since that time, although their actions are worthy of eternal praise, and were traditionally handed down among the people,) Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, offered me a very old book in the Welsh language, giving the history of Britain from the time of Brutus to the reign of Cadwallader ap Cadwallon." It would be clear from this, that the book was not translated by Geffrey until after 1197, if, as I said before, this Walter, Archdeacon, should be Walter Map.

Henry of Huntingdon dedicates his work to Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, who died, 1147. From this it is evident, that the additional Preface to Henry of Huntingdon (which is only found in some MSS.), where Henry speaks of Geffrey's work, must be either an interpolation, or Henry of Huntingdon must have lived fifty years after he had finished his own history, if Walter Map gave the MS. This reckoning by

the common age of man, would produce this result, that Henry must have finished his history between the age of twenty and twenty-five, an age much too young to have executed such a work.

William of Newburgh, who was born in the first year of Stephen, A°. 1135, writes against Geffrey, and says his History is a fiction altogether. William of Newburgh ends his History in 1197, in the same year, or the year after that, in which Walter Map was made archdeacon. If we are to suppose that William of Newburgh uttered this invective in the year 1197, as soon as he had finished his own work, we must give Geffrey great credit for industry, in translating the work so expeditiously.

In one of the charters which are now brought forward, we find a Walter the Archdeacon called "*de Godestow*," but this seems to be another Walter, Archdeacon, not mentioned by Le Neve in his "*Fasti*," for he appears to have been archdeacon in the time of Henry II., which was not the case with Walter Map. It would appear probable, then, that this was Walter de Constantiis, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. Ralph de Monemuta and Magister Galfridus Arturus were witnesses to his charter.

But to one of these charters, which Geffrey Artur witnessed, Robert, Bishop of Exeter, was a witness. Now the last bishop of that name, prior to Walter Map, was Robert Warlewast, who died 1159, before Walter de Constantiis was made archdeacon ; therefore this Walter de Constantiis could not be Walter the Archdeacon, who gave the book to Geffrey. We must have recourse then to a third Walter : and we find another Walter in whom these several points unite. This was Walter de Wallingford, who, according to Le Neve, lived in 1151, within the episcopate of Robert Warlewast. In these charters we find as witnesses William, Abbot of Eynesham, who lived in 1138 ; Godfrey, Prior of Eynesham, probably the same who was afterwards Abbot in the time of Stephen ; Robert, Prior of St. Frideswid, 1141 ; and Reginald, Abbot of Evesham, who died 1149.

Moreover, Geffrey dedicates his work to Robert Fitz Roy, Earl of Gloucester, who died about 1146,—another proof that Walter Map could not be the donor of the MS.

From all these dates uniting in Walter de Wallingford, we are compelled to come to the conclusion that the Walter

Archdeacon of Oxford, who gave Geffrey the celebrated Welsh History, was not Walter Map, but Walter de Wallingford.

If the Magister Galfridus Arturus, mentioned in the charter, was Geffrey of Monmouth, his being *Magister* and a witness would show him to be at least twenty-one. In both deeds he is coupled as a witness with Robert de Monemuta. The last date of Walter de Wallingford which Le Neve gives is 1151, which would make Geffrey a young man when he translated this work, supposing him to have lived also in 1197.

We must now put the query, who was the Walter whose malady is so feelingly deplored by Henry of Huntingdon in his Treatise *de Contemptu Mundi*, and of whom he gives this high praise :—

“Waltere, quondam decus juvenum ! quondam delicie rerum !”

This could not be Walter Map, for although this work was written in Henry's old age, yet, as Henry must have been born about 1090, to suppose him lamenting Walter Map, who lived in 1205, would be absurd. I conjecture, then, that the person in question was Walter de Wallingford.

That Henry must have been born about 1090 is proved by his own words, in which he states that he saw Robert Bloet, Bishop of Lincoln, when he (Henry) was a *little boy*, a *youth*, a *young man*. As Robert Bloet was made bishop in 1093, and died in 1123, his episcopate would comprise those three periods of Henry of Huntingdon's life, which he here indicates. Having thus established the probable age of Henry, I think it is clear, from this also, that the Walter, to whom he alludes in this eulogy, could not be Walter Map.

The necessity, which all should feel, of correcting erroneous impressions on points of history will, I trust, plead my excuse for entering so much at length into this discussion.

The proofs of the above argument are the following :—

CARTA DOMINI WALTERI, ARCHIDIACONI OXINFORDENSIS, FACTA CONVENTUI DE GODESTOW, IN DEDICACIONE ECCLESIE.²

GODSTOW CARTULARY, AMONGST THE RECORDS OF THE QUEEN'S REMEMBRANCER, (Carlton Ride Office,) fol. 5.

Walterus, Oxinefordensis Archidiaconus, omnibus fidelibus Sancte Ecclesie salutem. Notifico caritati vestre, quod concessi conventui de

² The dedication of the church of Godstow took place in the reign of Stephen, in the presence of the King and Queen,

Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Sarum, Worcester, Exeter, Bath, and Constance, on the Vigil of

Godestowe, et monialibus ibidem Deo servientibus, omnem libertatem quam Archidiaconus concedere potest, scilicet, ut ab omni Archidiaconali exactione, sive aggravacione, ut in hospiciis exigendis, aut capellanis implacitandis, ceterisve ministris in causam ducendis, libera sit predicta Ecclesia et prorsus quieta. Oleum quoque crisma et sanctum et infirmorum sine exactione habeat. Abbatisa etiam capellanos suos ponat, et habeat, ita ut ipsa voluerit, ad sinodos sive ad capitula non eant, nec [Archidiacono nec]³ Decano aut eorumdem ministris, nisi voluntarie, respondeant. Capellani quoque sui, si perverse egerint, convocet abbatisa ad ecclesiam suam, vicinos suos elegerit presbiteros, quorum iudicio aut corrigat eos, aut eiciat. Curam etiam monialium suarum, absque scitacione alicujus archidiaconi sive decani, habeat. Hujus libertatis si quis temerario ausu violator aut destructor extiterit, perpetui anathematis sentencie subiaceat, nisi resipuerit, et condignam satisfaccionem egerit. Hujus rei existunt Testes, Rodbertus, Exoniensis Episcopus;⁴ Ricardus, Abbas Elemosine;⁵ Reginaldus, Abbas Eveshamie;⁶ Walterus, Abbas Egenesham. Radulphus de Monem', Magister Gaufridus Arturus, Rodbertus, Prior Oxinefordensis, Rodbertus capellanus, Ansket' presbiter, Willelmus Capellanus, Reginaldus filius Comitit et filii sui, Willelmus de Keisur, Humfridus Clericus, Andreas Clericus, Hugo de Keisur, Willelmus filius Walteri, Simon de Gerard' Molend', Nichol' Basset, Nigell' del Broc, Radulphus de Broc, Willelmus filius Godefridi, Willelmus Luvel.

CARTA WALTERI, ARCHIDIACONI OXONEFORDIE, Ibid., fol. 13.

Universis Sancte Matris Ecclesie filiis, ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, Walterus de Godstowe, Oxoneford' Archidiaconus, Salutem in Christo. Notum esse volumus, nos ex officio Archidiaconatus nostri, ad presentationem et concessionem domini Regis Anglie, Henrici filii Matildis Imperatricis, donasse, et presenti carta mea confirmasse, sanctimonialibus de Godestow Ecclesiam de Bloxam, cum suis pertinentiis, salvo jure Lincolnensis Ecclesie et nostro. Instituímus autem prenominatas sanctimoniales in personatum prefate ecclesie, salvo jure Rogeri de Clifford, qui nomine

Easter, A.D. 1138. (April 2.) See the dedication charter of Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, reciting the benefactions made on that occasion, amongst which it is recorded—"Galterus, Archidiaconus Oxinefordie, dedit decimam domini sui de Cudeslawa."—*Mon. Angl.*, new edit., vol. iv., p. 362; ex *Regist.* in *Scacc.* ex parte *Remem. Reg.* An English version is also found in the English Register, among the MSS. Rawlinson, in Bodley.

³ These words, apparently requisite to complete the sense of this clause, had probably been omitted by the writer of the Cartulary. King Stephen, as appears by his Charter in the Register in the Remembrancer of the Exchequer's office, gave to the church of Godstow—"De meo proprio dominio c. solidatas in vico qui dicitur Waltona." In the ancient manor of Walton, North of Oxford, a name now preserved in that of Walton Place, near Worcester College, the church of St. Giles

was situated, erected by Alwin, or "Elwinus, filius Godegosii," as Rous states, about the time of the Conquest. He appears, however, amongst the donors in the Dedication Charter of the church of Godstow, in 1138, and in that of King Richard I., he is specially named as the Founder of St. Giles's church. This charter of Archdeacon Walter may probably be assigned to that date, circa 1138. Edit.

⁴ Robert Chichester, Bishop of Exeter, 1128 or 1138. Ob. 1150.

⁵ Eleemosyna, le petit Citeaux, a Cistercian abbey founded in 1121, situate between Chartres and Blois. Richard occurs Abbot of this house in 1147, till about 1156. *Gallia Christ.*, tom. viii. 1397. Waverley and Tintern were offsets from this abbey.

⁶ Reginald was Abbot of Evesham; ob. 1149.

earum eandem Ecclesiam in vita sua est habiturus, pensione unius bizantii prescriptis monialibus annuatim reddendo ad pascham. Testibus hiis, Magistro Winemero, Johanne de Const', Magistro Radulpho de Const', Matheo et Rogero Cappellanis, Stephano, David, clericis.

CARTA WALTERI, OXINIENSIS ARCHIDIACONI, Ibid., fol. 96.

Walterus, Oxin' Archidiaconus, omnibus sancte Ecclesie fidelibus salutem. Notum vobis facio me dedisse in elemosinam Ecclesie Beati Johannis de Godestowe decimam terre mee in dominio meo de Cudeslawe,⁷ ipsamque posuisse super altare, in dedicacione ecclesie coram Alexandro Lincolnensi Episcopo⁸ et ceteris Episcopis qui dedicaverunt Ecclesiam. Valet.

ALIA CARTA WALTERI OXINFORDENSIS, Ibid.

Walterus, Oxinefordensis Archidiaconus, omnibus fidelibus sancte ecclesie Salutem. Notum vobis facio quod rustici mei de Waltona, in dedicacione ecclesie sancti Egidii, que est extra portam de Northe Oxineford, dederunt decimas suas eidem ecclesie, assensu et voluntate mea, quod concedo et volo, et ex parte Dei sic esse precipio. Teste Willelmo, Abbate de Egnesham,⁹ Rodberto, Priore S. Frethesuide,¹ Godefrido, Priore de Egnesham,² Magistro Galfrido Arteour, Radulpho de Monumuta, Willelmo Capellano, Nigello Presbitero, Jocelino Clerico, Petro del Bar, Jord' Radulpho de Melverna, cum multis aliis. Valet.

The third author to whose history I wish to call attention is Alexander de Swerford, Treasurer of St. Paul's, who, there can be little doubt, was either born at Swerford, in the County of Oxford, or was a descendant of the family who were lords of that manor, and took their name from it.

Of this Alexander we have four charters in the Godstow Cartulary, while he was treasurer, to which office he was appointed in 1231, and died 1246. They are the following :—

CARTA ALEXANDRI DE SWEREFORDE, FACTA JOHANNI DE WOTTONE, ET JULIANE UXORI EJUS.

CARTUL. GODSTOW, fol. 80.

Omnibus presens scriptum visuris vel audituris Alexander de Suereford, thesaurarius Sancti Pauli Lond' salutem in Domino. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse, concessisse, et hac presenti carta confirmasse Johanni de Wottone filio et heredi Radulfi de Wottone, consanguineo meo, et Juliane filie Willelmi de S. Audeno uxori prefati Johannis, totam terram

⁷ Cutalow, about three miles north of Oxford.

⁸ Alexander, Archdeacon of Sarum, nominated Bishop of Lincoln, 15th of April, 1123; Lord Chancellor, ob. 1147. The Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, who granted these tithes, must therefore have been Walter de Wallingford, Archdeacon, 1104—1151.

⁹ William, Abbot of Eynsham, A.D. 1138.

¹ Robert de Cricklade, or Canutus, Prior of Oxford, circa 1130, or 1141 to 1157. Mon. Ang., new edit., vol. ii., p. 135.

² Possibly the same Godfrey, who occurs as Abbot of Eynsham, t. Stephen. Mon. Ang., new edit., vol. iii., p. 2.

meam de Kersintone, cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, quam ibidem habui et tenui de dono et concessione predicti Radulfi; et similiter omnes terras et omnia tenementa que habui et tenui in eadem villa, de perquisito meo, sicut in cartis illorum de quibus terras et tenementa illa habui, quas predictis Johanni et Juliane liberavi, plenius continetur; habenda et tenenda eisdem Johanni et Juliane et heredibus eorum, de me et heredibus meis sive assignatis quibuscumque, libere, quiete, integre et plenarie imperpetuum; reddendo inde singulis annis michi et heredibus meis sive assignatis meis quibuscumque apud London' in domo mea unum spervarium sorum, ad festum beati Petri ad Vincula, pro omni servicio et exaccione, et faciendo inde servicia dominis feodorum et tenementorum ipsorum que terre ille facere debent, et consueverunt, pro me et heredibus meis sive assignatis meis imperpetuum. Et ego et heredes mei sive assignati mei warantizabimus eisdem Johanni et Juliane, et heredibus eorum, omnes predictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinenciis suis, per predictum servicium unius spervarii sori per annum, sicut predictum est, contra omnes gentes imperpetuum. Et ut hec mea donacio, concessio, hujus carte confirmacio, et warantizacio perpetue firmitatis robur optineant, presens scriptum sigilli mei munimine duxi roborandum. Hiis testibus, domino Willelmo de Haverhulle, canonico S. Pauli Lond', Ricardo persona de Haneberewe,³ Johanne de Aula, Andrea Caperun, Roberto Turnur, Willelmo filio Petri, Johanne filio Amisii de Kersintone, Radulfo filio clerici, Hugone Brune de Haneberewe, Rogero de Haverhulle, Petro de Haverhulle, Willelmo persona de Wickwane, Ricardo de Herefordg, clerico, Willelmo de Alneto, Willelmo de Pres, Waltero Marescallo, et aliis.

CARTA RICARDI LE BLUNT, ETC., Ibid.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego, Ricardus Blundus de Karsintone dedi, concessi, et hac presenti carta confirmavi domino Alexandro Thesaurario Sancti Pauli Lond' iv. acras terre mee in Karsinton, quarum ij. acre jacent in insula que vocatur Sornheyte, in partiulis per vij. virgas, quarum i. virga jacet in eadem insula inter terram Willelmi Syward, extendens se versus aquam de Bladene; et secunda, juxta terram Petri de Wyvelcote extendendo se in Tamisiam; tertia virga jacet ibidem inter terram Walteri Morel et Ricardi Hunche; et quarta virga jacet ibidem juxta terram Johannis Chyke, junioris; quinta, juxta hidam subts Scotelake: et sexta virga et septima jacent inter terram Theodulphi de Plummere et terram Walteri Sapiere: octava, inter terram Thome filii Hawyse et terram meam. Due autem acre jacent in campis ejusdem ville aquilonaribus, quarum dimidia acra jacet juxta terram Simonis filii Prepositi, et abuttat super campum qui vocatur Vithele et dimidia acra inter terram Walteri Morel et Walteri le Sapiere, in predicto campo de Vithele; et dimidia acra jacet in Wythibedde, inter terram ThomeCapellani et Willelmi Smewe; et dimidia acra jacet in campo qui vocatur Harestane inter terram Walteri Sapiere et terram Roberti Dusepere. Dedi etc. eidem Alexandro dimidiam acram prati in eadem villa, que jacet in prato quod vocatur Barbecroft, habend' eidem Alexandro et heredibus suis, etc.' inperpetuum. Et ex convencione inter me et dictum Alexandrum facta, dictas quatuor acras etc. per alias terras nostras inter Karsintone warantizabimus etc. Et pro hac donacione etc. dedit mihi predictus Alexander xx.s. sterlingorum premanibus in gersumam et de xxj. s. me versus vivos fil' Sapin, Judeum Oxon',

³ Handborough, a parish in Oxfordshire.

in quibus ei tenebar, die quo confecta fuit hec carta, viz. die Lune proxima ante festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, anno M.CC.XLIV. planarie acquietavit. Et, ut presens scriptum perpetue firmitatis robur obtineat, illud sigillo meo roboravi. Hiis Testibus, Nicholao le Fraunceys de Somerford, Willelmo de Parys, Simone Punchard', Roberto Punchard', Simone Anglico, Petro de Wyvelcote, Willelmo filio Petri, Ricardo de Botteley, Theodulpho le Plummere et multis aliis.

CARTA JOHANNIS FILII RADULPHI, ETC., Ibid., fol. 80, v.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Johannes, filius Radulphi de Wottone, dedi etc. Willelmo de Sancto Audoeno totam terram et tenementum que habui de dono Alexandri de Swerford, quondam Thesaurarii Sancti Pauli London' viz. de terris que idem Alexander habuit tam de dono dicti Radulphi, patris mei, quam de perquisitis suis, in Karsintone, sine ullo retenemento mihi vel heredibus meis habend,' etc. Reddendo inde annuatim capitali domino feodi, scilicet Willelmo filio Petri de Kersintone, vj. d. et j. par albarum cyrotecarum de precio j. ob. ad Pasca. Et Abbatisse de Godstowe v.s. ad duos anni terminos, etc. Et heredibus dicti Alexandri de Swerford j. spervarium sorum⁴ ad festum beati Petri ad Vincula. Et mihi et heredibus meis unum denarium ad Pentecost, etc. Pro hac autem donacione etc. dedit mihi Willelmus x. marcas. Preterea idem Willelmus et heredes sui in tota vita mea mihi dabuntannuatim j. calciamentum de precio ij. s. etc. Et ego, et heredes mei, etc. warrantizabimus, etc. Et ut hec mea donacio, etc. huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis Testibus Willelmo de Parys, Radulpho Iveans, (?) Philippo Pady, Johanne de Aula de Haneberge, Radulpho filio Clerici de Eynesham, Andrea Caperun, Roberto le Turnour, et Willelmo le Parker de Wodestok, Nicholao le Franceys de Somerforde, Symone Punchard', Symone Anglico, et aliis.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Willelmus de Sancto Audoeno dedi Willelmo filio meo et heredi, et Colette uxori sue totam terram meam de Kersintone, etc. quam ibidem habui, et tenui de dono Johannis filii Radulphi, imperpetuum, etc. quam quidem terram dictus Johannes filius Radulphi habuit de dono Alexandri de Swerford, quondam Thesaurarii Sancti Pauli London' [etc., *ut in ultima carta.*] Pro hac autem donacione etc. dederunt mihi Willelmus filius meus et Coletta uxor ejus xx. marcas in gersummam, etc. Sciendum est etiam quod sic convenit inter Willelmum de Sancto Audoeno pro filio meo Willelmo, ex una parte, et Johannam de Merdene, pro Coletta sorore sua, ex altera, quod si dicta Coletta conceperit de dicto Willelmo filio Willelmi sponso suo, et prolem in lucem produxerit, ipsa proles totam predictam terram etc. possideat, in perpetuum, jure hereditario. Si vero dictus Willelmus, etc. ante suscitavit prolem de dicta Coletta uxore sua, obierit, habebit dictam terram etc. dicta Coletta ad totam vitam suam; et si dicta Coletta ante Willelmum filium Willelmi maritum suum, in fata sine liberis decesserit post ejus vitam predictus Johannes, frater Colette, vel sui assignati predictam terram etc. habebunt pro x. annis, ad denarios dicto Willelmo de Sancto Audoeno pacatos plene plene levandos absque disturbacione dicti Willelmi vel alicujus nomine suo; et post x. annos completos redibit dicta terra etc. ad dictum Willelmum vel

⁴ A hawk of the first year, ("a soar hawk," Cotgrave,) having its first plumage of the light brown colour called in French,

sor—"de couleur jaune, blond — rous-sâtre." See Ducange, v. Saurus.

heredes suos etc. Si vero contingat quod ego Willelmus de Sancto Audoen dictis Willelmo filio meo et Colette warantizare non potero, faciam eis sufficiens excambium de aliis terris meis cum manso competenti in Villa de Haneborowe, secundum visum legalium hominum. In cujus rei testimonium, etc. Sigillum meum apposui. Hiis Testibus, Dominis Nicholao de Henrede, tunc Vice comite Oxon.' Bardulpho de Cestertone, militibus; Johanne de Dunhall, Petro de Lega, Rogero de Hastall, Henrico Parker, Willelmo filio Petri de Kersintone, persona de Drifeld.

By these charters we discover some of his kindred, and that he had property at Carsington, in the County of Oxford. For by them he grants to his cousin John, son and heir of Ralph de Wotton, and to Juliana his wife, daughter of William de St. Ouen, all his land in Carsington, which he had by the gift of the said Ralph, and all the lands which he, (Alexander himself,) had purchased in Carsington; to be held by the said John and Juliana, on the yearly payment of a sparrow-hawk, at his, (Alexander's), house in London.

As Madox, in his "History of the Exchequer," has fully treated of all the claims of Alexander de Swerford to the authorship of the work *de Scaccario*, I will content myself with bringing forward the facts in his life which are contained in these charters. As these were drawn from the Cartulary of Godstow, I cannot conclude my observations without begging to press earnestly upon the attention of the Institute the very great importance of printing the Cartularies of this kingdom, a noble example being set us by Scotland, and followed by Lancashire and France. For these documents contain innumerable anecdotes relative to the biography of the inhabitants of this country in former times, all of whom were either our direct ancestors, or of their kindred; and I beg leave to propose a commencement with this county, and to suggest a subscription of a moderate sum, annually, for the purpose of bringing out the Cartularies of Oxfordshire.⁵

⁵ The valuable Cartulary, from which the documents here given have been extracted, is preserved amongst the Records of the Queen's Remembrancer, now in the custody of the Master of the Rolls. It appears to have been written about

1420. A note is inscribed at the commencement, as follows,—“Monasterium de Godstowe. Liberatur in Cur' Scaccarii undecimo die Februarii, anno xxvij. per manus Ricardi Browne, generosi, pro commodo Regine.”

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SILCHESTER.

IN the following observations concerning Silchester, destined to accompany the plan of that interesting site, it is not proposed to announce any discovery, much less to settle disputed points regarding its ancient name and former inhabitants; but merely to explain the sketch which has been taken of its present state.

In pursuing this intention I shall proceed, in the first place, to notice the outline of the earthworks, as it is conjectured they may have existed originally. I shall next endeavour to indicate such additions as we may suppose to have been added by the Romans, or under their superintendence, particularly their roads as distinguished from lines of earthwork. And, lastly, to add some observations on certain detached lines of intrenchment in the neighbourhood.

There is scarcely any Roman station, probably, in Britain at which so many remains have been discovered, as at Silchester, and yet antiquaries are not unanimous as to the place it holds in the Itineraries, or the Saxon warrior by whom it was destroyed.¹

Nennius, who wrote about the eighth century, calls Silchester, *Caer Segeint*; and a stone dug out of the ruins, containing an inscription with the word *Saegon* on it, has been interpreted to signify that the Segontiaci inhabited Silchester, and that it was their chief town. This tribe is mentioned by Cæsar as one that submitted to his arms, and is placed by him after the Cenimagni, and before the Ancalites.²

The great difficulty lies with the Itineraries; as to whether

¹ "Silchester is supposed to have been destroyed near the end of the third century, when *Asclepiodatus* came over to Britain to suppress the usurpation of *Allectus*; and it is probable enough that the town then suffered a siege, being on or near the line of march for the opposing armies. It is also stated, on the

authority of Henry of Huntingdon, that *Caer Segon* was destroyed, and that all its inhabitants were put to the sword, about A.D. 493, by the Saxon chief *Ella*, in his march from Sussex, where he landed, to Bath." (*United Serv. Journ.*, p. 38. Jan. 1836.)

² Cæsar, *De Bello Gall.*, v. 21.

it was the *Vindomis*, or the *Calleva Atrebatum*, of Antoninus, and Richard of Cirencester.³

It is now, however, generally admitted, that, according to the explanation of Dr. Horsley, it must be considered the *Calleva Atrebatum*.⁴ After an examination of the distances between the stations, as given in the Itinerary, with the actual distances between the stations known, he thus accounts for the place being the residence of both the Segontiaci and the Atrebates:—

“The Segontiaci are not mentioned at all by Ptolemy; and possibly in his time, and also when the Itinerary was written, might be joined to the Atrebates, and looked upon only as a part of that people; so that what was before a city of the Segontiaci, might then justly be termed a city of the Atrebates.”—(Brit. Romana, page 442.)

A writer in the “United Service Journal” (Jan. 1836) observes, “The designation *Atrebatum* is given by Antoninus to *Calleva*, and an inscription on a stone, which was dug up at

³ Mr. Kempe says, “Nennius tells us it was also called *Murinintum*; an appellation which we must consider had allusion to its wall, which, even to this day, is so strikingly characteristic of its site. The term *Gallewa*, or *Calleva*, of the Roman Itineraries, appears to have had the same source, and was but a softened form of the British *Gual Vawr*, or the *Great Wall*.” (Appendix to *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii., page 416.) There certainly seems a probability that the city was divided originally between two tribes, if not more.

Dr. Beeke says, “Now it is certain that *Calleva* was in the direct road from London to Bath, and consequently must have been in or near Reading, because the nature of the country has caused, that the straightest is at the same time the most convenient line between those cities, and that line passes through Reading.” (*Archæologia*, vol. xv., page 186.)

⁴ Sir R. C. Hoare observes, “we find that Camden, Stukeley, and Dr. Beeke, place *Vindomis* at Silchester; Horsley, at Farnham; and Mr. Reynolds at the Vine; whilst Dr. Stukeley places *Calleva* at Farnham; Horsley at Silchester; Mr. Reynolds at Reading; Dr. Beeke at the same place; and Dr. Milner, the historian of Winchester, at Wallingford. To these I must add some other opinions, which coincide with those of the intelligent investigator of Roman antiquities, Horsley, and which, I think, rest upon better grounds than those of the writers on this

disputed subject. Among the first I shall mention the name of Mr. Lethieullier, a gentleman of Hampshire, who collected notes of Roman antiquities both at home and abroad. In his MS. papers he says, that Mr. Horsley has very judiciously proved Silchester to be the *Calleva Atrebatum* of the Itineraries. Of the same opinion are my learned friends, the Rev. Thomas Leman, of Bath, and the Rev. Archdeacon Coxe, of Salisbury, from whose joint information and notes the improved edition of Richard of Cirencester was published in the year 1809. The recent survey of these rival stations, and the discovery of a new station on Finkley Farm, induce me to agree with them in placing *Calleva* at Silchester.” (*Anc. Wilts.*, vol. ii., p. 54.) Of this “new station on Finkley Farm,” Sir Richard observes, “the resident farmer at Finkley showed us a tile with indented marks on it, which we immediately proclaimed to be of Roman manufacture. We picked up several fragments of pottery, and observed marks of old inclosures in the corn fields.” (*Anc. Wilts.*, vol. ii., p. 49.) A more recent anonymous writer observes, “the word Segontium remains to destroy the possibility of its ever having been the *Atrebatian Calleva*, if it does not afford us any light as to *Vindomis*.” (Observations upon certain Roman roads and towns in the South of Britain, A.D. 1836, p. 32.)

Silchester, appears to have expressed a dedication to Hercules of the Segontiaci ; it seems, therefore, that the town was at different times subject to those different tribes ; but as the boundaries of the *Atrebates*, the *Segontiaci*, and *Bibroci*, appear to have coincided in the neighbourhood, and as the Belgæ from Gaul subsequently gained possession of the same part of the country, it is easy to conceive that the place may have been considered as belonging to any, or all, of the four people.”—(Page 38.)

These opinions may receive some support on examination of the boundary dividing the counties of Berks and Hants, which, taken as a general line, runs from the eastward directly towards the middle of Silchester, and continues on the opposite side of the station in a similar direction, nearly due east and west. The only deviation is at Silchester, where Hampshire includes a part of the parish of Mortimer, called Mortimer-west-end ; which part was, probably, added to the ancient manor of Silchester at an early period, though originally belonging to the tribe that occupied the Berkshire side of the boundary line.

The earliest map of Silchester, published by Dr. Stukeley,⁵ makes the form of the place quadrangular. The next was an actual survey of the walls by Mr. Wright, the original of which is in the King's library, in the British Museum. In this the exterior line of defence is omitted. On this map were drawn the principal streets, as traced by Mr. Stair from time to time, and published, with a description, in the Philosophical Transactions, in 1748, by Mr. Ward, Gresham Professor.⁶

Although these streets are still visible, a little before harvest, in the stunted and discoloured crops where the streets ran, the observation that “two of the streets wider than the others lead to the four gates of the city, one from north to south, the other from east to west,” is not correct. For though the one from north to south runs directly from one gate to the other, as drawn in the plan, the other does not run directly from east to west, as is stated ; and if it did, the streets could none of them be at right angles to each other, which in fact they are ; the eastern street being

⁵ *Itinerarium Curiosum*.

⁶ *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 490. A.D. 1748. See also a “Plan of Silchester,”

by Mr. A. J. Kempe, in the Appendix to the 27th vol. of the *Archæologia*, Plate 32, p. 419.

a continuation of the Roman way from the eastward, through the eastern gate to the forum, or centre building; and the western street running in the direction of the south-east angle of the work, and passing on continuously by the north end of the centre building.

It would be necessary to examine these streets year after year, as the crops come on successively, in the way Mr. Stair did, to be able to make out the whole of them; but they have been sufficiently examined to show that the principal streets were towards the true cardinal points, and consequently at right angles to each other.⁷ Such as have been observed on the ground are introduced on the map in dotted lines.

A minute account of the wall will be found in the "Philosophical Transactions," No. 490, A.D. 1748. It appears to have been about 13 feet high, and about 8 feet thick at the bottom, composed of layers of flat stones about 30 inches apart, with flints between them, set in very strong mortar.⁸ The circuit of the wall is about a mile and a half, and the area inclosed is about 102 acres.

The exterior line of defence, which is at an irregular distance, averaging 170 yards from the wall, consists of a rampart and outside ditch, which, when complete, may have been continuous all round, but at present there is no reason to suppose it to have been carried round on the south-east side.⁹ The height of the rampart of this exterior line seems to have been about 15 feet above the interior; the ditch about 60 feet wide, and the bottom of it about 20 feet below the top of the rampart. Though this exterior line conforms to the shape of the ground in some measure, it does not

⁷ "The interior has long been subject to the action of the plough; but to the eyes of an antiquary the directions of the ancient streets, at right angles to each other, are yet perceptible, by a difference in the height of the corn growing on them when compared with its general surface." (United Service Journal, January, 1836, p. 38.)

The position of the bath has been fixed on the map by the concurrent testimony of three persons residing at Silchester, who saw the excavation open. Though the rector had carefully fenced in a way to the remains, so as to protect the farmer's crops, such was the destruction committed by persons crossing the fields in

every direction, that at the earnest request of the tenant, the proprietor desired that the foundations should be covered in. See the position of the bath, as laid down in Mr. A. J. Kempe's Map. (Archæologia, vol. xxvii., p. 419. Plate xxxii. Appendix.)

⁸ We could not see the part of the wall where, it is stated, the flat courses were *six* in number; *five* seems the most common number of horizontal courses, making about 13 feet.

⁹ The value of the ground, and its southern aspect, may perhaps account for the more complete destruction of the outer entrenchment on the southern side.

seem to have done so altogether, and, from its irregular outline, it seems probable that it existed before the wall was built; and, from its general conformity, that there was a rampart where the wall now is before the latter was built.

If we compare the whole work with some of the ancient camps in Cornwall, which are supposed to be British, such as Burydown, near Lanreath, and Castle-an-Dinas, near St. Columb Major, both of circular form, we might suppose that the original outline of Silchester was British also. This may receive some confirmation from the three large dikes which diverge from it.¹ One from the north gate, points towards Pangbourne on the Thames; one from the south gate, apparently, though not exactly, continuous with the northern dyke, leads towards Winchester, and is called by Gough, in his additions to Camden,² as also by Stukeley, *Longbank* and *Grimesditch*.³

Another, in the direction from Andover and Old Sarum, which comes up close to the ditch of the outer rampart when it swells out to the south-west projection, which, it should be observed, is not opposite either of the gates in the wall, and is therefore probably anterior to its formation, if we suppose that at this point there was originally an entrance.⁴ Each of these lines of entrenchment consists of a rampart and ditch—the ditch being on the south-east in the two southern lines, and on the west in the northern one.

These dykes are not so straight as the lines of Roman road, but are curved more or less in several places; this is the more necessary to observe, because from what Gough,

¹ One of these dikes as it leaves the rampart, and the rampart itself, are drawn in Sir R. C. Hoare's Map, in the 2nd vol. of his *Ancient Wilts*; but the rampart is not continued on the eastern side, where the traces are sufficiently strong to introduce it; and which leads Mr. Albert Way to suppose, that the amphitheatre was originally within the lines of defence. He says, "an argument in favour of the original continuity of the exterior line of entrenchment around the whole of Silchester, may be gathered, as it strikes me, from the position of the amphitheatre, slightly beyond, or, at all events, in a parallel line with the face of the inner work, on the side where the outer work is now wanting." (MS. Notes, Nov. 1849.)

² Gough's Camden, vol. i., p. 142. (Perhaps, from *Grim*, an *elf*, a *hag*, *witch*. Bosworth's Dict.)

³ "Farther on I crossed a great Roman road coming from Winchester; they call it Long bank, and Grime's dike." (Page 169, Stukeley.)

⁴ The only way we can suppose this line to have entered the gate in the wall, either the *west* or *south* gate, would have been by a traverse in the outer entrenchment, near each gate; for the rampart is perfect and continuous where the line approaches the outer rampart. To this supposition the present appearance of the ruins offers no difficulty, except that the outer ditch could not have been filled with water.

in his additions to Camden, says, "A military road called *Longbank* and *Grimesdyke*, pitched with flints, runs from the south gate of the town to the north gate of Winchester," it would be supposed that this bank was in some part pitched with flints, which there is no reason to believe it ever was, as it runs half a mile on the west of Latchmore Green, where the pitched way has been opened, and where it may be seen now, it is presumed, if the surface be removed. Others, following the above writers, have said the same thing ; but, if the matter be examined, it will most likely be found that the Roman roads were straight, paved with flints, and bedded in gravel.

The entrenched line, which leaves the outer rampart between the west gate and the south gate, at the projection before mentioned, runs about 200 yards in a southerly direction, and then turns towards the westward,⁵ but is not to be seen beyond the road from Silchester Common to Latchmore Green.

That which leaves the south gate of the outer rampart is scarcely to be seen in the copse for about 200 yards, but, on emerging from it, the traces are seen in the fence which has been formed on it, being a broad bank raised about two feet or more, with a ditch on the south-east side ; it crosses a small rill, where it is obscure, and thence serves as a field-way as far as the road from Silchester Common to Latchmore Green, where a pond in the road seems to have been formed in the ditch of the entrenchment ; crossing the road, it forms the south side of the lane, called the Old-house Road, for about 150 yards ; thence, bending to the south, it is large and well defined as it runs towards the brook, on each side of which, for a short distance, it is not traceable, but appears again in a broad fence as it proceeds to form the east side of the wood, on the boundary of Silchester parish. Crossing the parish boundary it continues straight as it enters the wood in the parish of Pamber, and continues to form the east boundary of the wood till we come to Frog Lane. At this spot it makes a slight bend to the south, and may be traced, but very obscurely, close on the west of the farm buildings, and at about 150 yards distance disappears altogether ; this

⁵ In the Map of Silchester, given in the 2nd vol. of "Ancient Wilts.," this *turn* above-mentioned is described as a "Roman

road from Old Sarum," and a branch is continued, which we failed to notice, as a "Roman road from Winchester."

last direction, which is south-west by west, would lead near to the hamlet called Little London, considerably to the west of where the supposed Roman road had been ploughed up by a person named William Morrell, in Long Ayliffs Field.

The third entrenched line, which, as we have already stated, points northward, cannot be seen for 330 yards after it has left the outer entrenchment. As we enter Ford's Copse, the traces are very evident, and continue to within a short distance of the brook, where it is lost, but appears again, with the ditch on the west side, (which seems to be partly natural and partly artificial) as we ascend the hill. In the meadow, west of the farm house, it is totally lost ; and though it is probable that it followed the course of the road, close to the pound and the pond, the traces are scarcely sufficient to be considered a continuation of it, though beyond the cross road, on the west of the fence, in the same continuous right line, a bank and ditch look very like its course ; but beyond this nothing has been traced of either the rampart or the ditch.

These three entrenched lines are very similar, but there is no reason to suppose that they are of Roman construction ; for they are not straight, have not been found to have been paved, and the low ground, or ditch, is only on one side.⁶

Having thus examined what there is left of the entrenched lines, we will now proceed to examine what traces may be discerned of the Roman ways. And, first, we may observe, that since the neighbourhood of Silchester consists of the rolled flints and sands of Bagshot Heath, or of the plastic clay formation, it is not at all probable that any of the large unrolled flints of the chalk would be found near the surface of the ground. The only large stones found about the place are those sandstones called grey wethers, or sarsen stones, which Dr. Buckland supposed to be "the wreck of the harder

⁶ If we presume these three lines of entrenchment, with the outer rampart and ditch, as well as an inner rampart and ditch on which the present wall stands, to have existed before the Romans visited the island, it is possible, that finding the present north and south gateway in existence, they made their principal street between them, and drew the rest some parallel, and others at right

angles to this principal street ; also, that the street from the west gate was made to conform with an ancient entrance, and that they broke through the rampart to form an entrance on the east for their own Roman way ; for had they constructed the work anew, there was nothing in the ground to have made them deviate from the usual method of rectangular construction of the walls.

portion of the sandy strata of the contiguous London and New Forest basins.⁷

These stones appear to have been used pretty freely in the formation of the wall of Silchester, together with oolitic rocks, probably from the north-west of Oxford. As these large flints are uncommon about the fields in the neighbourhood, it is not to be wondered at that, when a plough comes in contact with a bed of them, however narrow, it should be noticed ; and indeed, when there are so few building stones in the immediate neighbourhood, it would not be remarkable if they were sought after and dug up whenever the plough touched on them. From examination of places near Silchester where these flints have been found, which generally are about two feet below the present surface, and further westward on the chalk, where the line has not sunk so much, or become covered by deposition, there is reason to think that the line was never raised to a great height above the surface, and that the fall was the same on each side of the road.

The most easily recognised line of Roman way is that known as the Devil's Causeway at Bagshot Heath ; it passes about 200 yards on the north of Finchamstead church, crosses near Thatcher's Ford (where it is the south boundary of an isolated part of the county of Wilts), and seems, under the present name of Park Lane, to have originally given name to *Turgis, Saye, and Mortimer, Stratfield*.⁸

Having come from the eastward, with a direction due west, where it arrives at the cross road (at the west end of Park Lane), it makes the smallest possible bend, one scarcely perceptible, and runs the last mile and three quarters due west into the east gate of Silchester.

Though there can be little doubt that this is the true Roman line, we find no ditch on either side, or any embank-

⁷ Trans. Geo. Soc., No. 12, p. 126. This paper was an important step in advance of the geological knowledge of the day when it was written. (Read Feb. 8, 1825.)

⁸ "The road issues from the town at the eastern gate, where the present church of Silchester is situated, and proceeds in a rectilinear direction through Strathfield-saye, along what is now called Park Lane, which is scarcely passable in the winter season. The line of its direction crosses the Loddon, near the bridge, at the nor-

thern extremity of the park, and passes through a ford near the junction of the Blackwater and Whitewater rivers, about two miles from the place where the united streams fall into the Loddon ; but the traces of its course are much interrupted by cultivation till we come to West Court House, the seat of the Rev. H. E. St. John, built, according to tradition, upon the road itself, the direction of which is marked by the avenue to the mansion." (United Service Journal, Jan. 1836 : Part 1, p. 39.)

ment, nor any flints on the surface ; but when we find that this last direction of the line leads through the east gate, and coincides, in continuation, with a street as traced within the ancient town, we cannot refuse to admit that we are on the line.

Beyond this, however, we may observe, that though the course of the present road terminates 1000 yards before it arrives at the gate, and the line of the fence forward can scarcely be relied on, a recent breaking up of a meadow, called Mouse-hill Meadow, which had been grass-land beyond the memory of man, disclosed the bed of flints embedded in gravel cemented with ferruginous clay, precisely in the line towards the gate, about a foot or 18 inches below the surface, and I saw them carted away as an obstruction to cultivation. This field is the second from the gate, and the third from the cross-road.

The next important line of Roman road from Silchester was towards Winchester.⁹ This also is presumed to have been straight, at least as far as Rook's Down, near Basingstoke, over which it appears to have gone, there being a tradition that a part of it was formerly dug up, the present general appearances also of the road confirming this.

This road does not appear to have departed straight in continuation from the south *gate* of the *wall* ; but the north and the south gate being truly so of each other, the street connecting them was continued, it is presumed, in each instance, on to the outer rampart, and the road commenced its direction through the town from that *outer gate*.

Presuming this to have been the direction of the south road, to which the present line generally conforms for a considerable distance, we find it to be bearing S. W. to S. $2\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$ S., and, following this course, at Latchmore Green we find that remains have been dug up in two gardens,¹ and a small meadow² on the west of the present road, and that other remains have been ploughed up on Moor's Farm, in a field called Long Ayliffs.³

On a survey of the direction and bearing of these places pointed out, and on an examination of the flints, we find that

⁹ "There is one of these (military ways) yet visible, that leads towards Winchester." (Horsley, p. 459.)

¹ Statement of John and Ambrose Ham. James Simpson, a sawyer, at Silchester, ninety years of age, made a

sawpit at the back of Moor's Farm ; and, in digging down, came upon a bed of large flints like a road. A. Ham heard his father speak of the same flints.

² Stated by David Norris.

³ By William Morrell, of Moor's Farm.

each place coincides with the general line and with the particular bearing, whence we conclude that such is the true course of the road, and that it crosses Rook's Down and the turnpike road from Basingstoke to Andover, at Worting, two miles on the west of Basingstoke.⁴

The next line we shall notice is that from Old Sarum (Sorbioduno) to Silchester.

Though the general bearing of this line (N. E. by E. 6° E.) runs straight upon Silchester, no trace of it can be seen on the east of Foscot, which is six miles from the place. At this distance it is not easy to say which gate it entered at, but the probability is that it was on the south.⁵ Several places were examined where the stunted corn showed the existence of solid materials below; but as it is common for the gravel, of which the country is composed, to be consolidated by the percolation of water through it, containing a portion of iron and clay, there is no confidence to be placed in these indications alone, particularly as the flints were absent.

A line of this sort was pointed out, by the gamekeeper in Pamber Forest,⁶ where, from the undisturbed state of the surface, some indications would be expected; but, though vestiges are near the line, they contain no flints, and therefore cannot be depended on: supposing them to be real traces, the line would have run about 50 yards north of the bridge which divides the parishes of Pamber and Tadley, on the road from Basingstoke to Aldermaston.

Pushing on to the westward, to catch the true bearing of the line, we came up to it at about a mile north-west of Hannington, where an old farmer pointed it out across several fields: about this place it is clearly drawn on the Ordnance map. The *Portway*, which is the name it still bears, passes Hannington about a mile on the north, and crosses the field-way leading to Plantation Farm, near Wool-

⁴ "The road from Silchester to Winchester falls into this" (Popham Lane) "near Kempshot turnpike-gate, at an angle of incidence of about 40°." (Anonymous Obs. on Rom. Roads, &c., p. 29.)

⁵ It is possible, as this course is not followed in any of the lines given in the Itineraries, that it was never completed through the forest of Pamber; but that the way from Foscot may have taken the course of the upper ground as a tem-

porary junction with the Winchester and Silchester road, somewhere about Rook's Down, along the escarpment of the chalk.

⁶ A person, named Joseph Watson, took some trouble to point out to me where he thought the line passed; through Frame Green Copse, and Bentley-Green Copse, across a drain, diagonally through his cottage meadows, under his barn, and so continuing westward across the road, about fifty yards north of the bridge.

verton, about 240 yards north of the cross road ; thence it follows the fence nearly, which is a very thick one, for some distance, and then falls obliquely into the valley where the farmer still points out the mark of it in his corn at particular seasons ; but it is exceedingly obscure, except where it passes the road and has caused a slight bend in its line ; thence it passes the cross road about 90 yards on the south of it ; it crosses the lane called Pit Lane, about 260 yards east of the cross road above mentioned, and is fairly visible as it ascends the hill to cross the road from Woolverton to Ewhurst.

Beyond this there is not the least vestige, in an easterly direction, to be depended on ; and even what has been described above could not have been traced but from a projection of the straight line. Still the slight bend in the old Reading Road seems to mark where the ancient way passed, and the line carried forward falls on the old cottage called Foss Cot, which derived its name probably from being situated in the fosse, or on the dyke of the Roman way. The farm buildings are more recent in appearance than the cottage ; hence the name of Foscot Farm has probably been derived from the Cot. A little on the west of these buildings, on the side of the old road, is a farm which was once a public house, called the "Brazen Head." As this line was straight, there could have been no choice of ground between Old Sarum and Silchester ; but no present road descends the chalk range of hills with less sudden declivity than this old line called the *Portway*.

No attempts we made to carry the line forward to the eastward were successful ; and though there can be no doubt that it ran a little on the south of Tadley Place, the resident farmer has never heard of it, though he has resided there for many years.⁷

The next road we can only suppose to have existed, for there are no remains to be seen of it. As there is a west gate, there must have been a road branching from it, and the present county boundary between Hampshire and Berkshire, as a general line, seems probably to have been the course of it towards Newbury (Spinæ). The general line of this boundary runs towards a large tumulus, which, at a distance of four miles from Silchester, forms the meeting point of the

⁷ Some ancient painted glass exists in one of the windows at Tadley Place, which is not undeserving of notice.

parishes of Brimpton, Wasing, Aldermaston, and Baughurst, as we understood ; Tadley, at one time, we are told, ran up to it also ; but, in some dispute with the parish of Baughurst, a part of the common was lost.

Those who have examined cases where the boundary over unenclosed commons has been disputed, will be prepared to learn that the county line is not straight, and, though the general line is tolerably so, there are several bends in it ; still it seems probable that this county line of boundary to the west of Silchester was as much a line of road as the similar line on the east.

It has been observed before, that taking the course of this west line as compared with that on the east, by Park Lane, it seems probable that Mortimer-west-end was once within the boundary of Berkshire, and that it was in ancient times taken within the Hundred of Holdshot to enlarge the manor of Silchester.⁸

The present county boundary was made at the general enclosure, and an old resident on Tadley Common, who assisted in making the fence, contended that previously there was no fence over the common between the counties ; we may, therefore, borrow a little from each side, and presume that the original line, the ancient division of the tribes, ran straight to the large tumulus⁹ on Baughurst Common, and perhaps was the line of the Roman way as far as the tumulus, and that thence towards Newbury (Spinæ) the Roman road took another direction. Be this as it may, there is not even a flint in the way side to lead to a supposition that the road was ever there.¹

The last line we shall examine is that diverging from the north gate ; and if we take the line of entrenchment in

⁸ At a little more than a mile from the West Gate on this line of boundary is an ancient stone, called *Nymph Stone*. Some suppose the word may have been *Imp*, and thus have been placed by the Romans ; but as it forms the boundary stone of parishes, as well as counties, at that spot, it seems more likely to have been placed where it is, when Mortimer West End is presumed to have been added to Holdshot Hundred. I think I was indebted for the above suggestion regarding Mortimer West End to the Rev. Mr. Coles, the rector of Silchester, whose permission to examine the parish map, and even to dig for remains within the glebe lands, I am desirous to acknowledge, with thanks.

⁹ This tumulus is the most easterly of three, near to each other, near the Lodge Gate, at the entrance leading to Wasing. It is surrounded by a ditch of 60 yards in diameter ; and though a great quantity has been carried away, it still stands a remarkable monument of former times. These tumuli are called Baughurst barrows ; they are about 560 feet above the sea level, and about 460 feet below the chalk range.

¹ Dr. Beeke observes, " no traces remain of any regularly drawn road from Silchester to Newbury, wherefore I think that the western communication with the road from London to Bath was at Thatcham." (*Archæologia*, vol. xv., p. 184.)

Ford's Copse for it, leading, as it does, towards Pangbourne, we must do so on the appearance and course of the entrenchment alone, and not from any other evidence of flints or embedded gravel. It must be observed, however, that each of these road-like entrenchments, the one pointing towards Winchester, that towards Old Sarum, and this towards Pangbourne, branch off from this place at a projection in the exterior line of defence, and in two instances at a Roman gateway. This does not prove them to have been roads, but may lead to the supposition that they were co-eval with the Roman work, if not made before it. On the other hand, it seems unlikely that works of the kind would have remained even so perfect as they are, during the long period which elapsed from the building of the wall to the destruction of the place, occupied as the place must have been by a numerous population.

Such are the principal works connected with Silchester. We will now, lastly, proceed to add some observations on two other lines of entrenchment in the neighbourhood, which, though unconnected with Silchester, or with each other, may deserve a notice.

The first we may describe is situated on Mortimer Heath, about a mile and a half from Silchester, in a N. by E. direction.²

The length of the entrenchment, which consists of a rampart, and ditch on the north side, is about 380 yards, its west end resting on the Reading road at about 450 yards after it leaves the Mortimer and Aldermaston road; its course is E.N.E. On the opposite side of the road, to the west end of this entrenchment, at a distance of about 180 yards in a west direction, and near a deep ravine which has been artificially made into a pond, is an oval space, of about 40 by 60 yards in extent, having the appearance of, and traditionally said to have been, a camp; but so very little remains of either rampart or ditch, that it is difficult to

² "At the distance of about a mile and a half from Silchester, towards the north-west, there still exists a long embankment of earth with its ditch, which, after being interrupted for about two miles, appears again in a spot situated due north of the town, near the village of Mortimer; and in the immediate vicinity of the walls, near the north gate, are the remains of another embankment of the same kind, which,

according to a tradition current among the country people, at one time entirely surrounded the city. This last work must have constituted an external fortification, strengthening the place; the former is, probably, a remnant of some entrenchment which had been raised for the protection of an army acting on the defensive, and covering the town on that side." (United Service Journal, Jan. 1836, p. 38.)

say what it has been ; still, when considered in connection with the entrenchment so near it, and which seems once to have extended towards it, we may accept the tradition as probable.

About 500 yards on the north of this camp, on the north side of the road from Mortimer, and close to it, are three tumuli ; the centre one is the largest, being about 40 yards in diameter, the other two about 25 yards each.

It is impossible to speculate on the purpose of these works, but a notice of the position of the ditch of the entrenchment will be made hereafter.

The second entrenchment which we have to describe is that in Aldermaston Park, about two miles N. W. by W. of Silchester, and a mile and a half from Aldermaston ; this consists, like the former, of a rampart and deep ditch on the north-west side, and at a short distance from the front were once some tumuli, but they are now nearly destroyed. This entrenchment is nearly a mile in length, running in a N.E. by N. direction ; it may have been connected with some camp, as the Mortimer Heath one is, and something of the sort is mentioned in "Chandler's History of Silchester," (page 39), but we could neither see nor hear of the remains in question.³

The south end of this Aldermaston entrenchment is turned by the ditch, as if it were never carried further ; and, as this end approaches the termination of a ravine, as well as the north end, it is probable that it may have been cast up as a breast-work before a defensive position ; the tumuli are found also on the ditch side, or front, in this case as well as in that at Mortimer Heath, so that it is possible they may both have been thrown up for the same purpose.

The great signal post of this district must always have been *Beacon Hill*, about a mile from Burghclere (which perhaps took its name from the fortified post), and about twelve miles W. by S. 4° S. of Silchester ; it is visible also from Lowbury, near Compton, on the north, and from Egbury on the south.

³ Dr. Beeke remarks, "There is a remarkable fosse about a mile and a half from Silchester, on the N.W., which begins about a quarter of a mile to the south of Ufton Church, and runs straight through the whole of the parishes of Ufton,

Padworth, and Aldermaston, excepting where interrupted in two or three places by boggy valleys of very small extent. The ditch is on the side of the mound most distant from Silchester." (*Archæologia*, vol. xv., p 185.)

EGBURY CAMP (*Vindomis* ?)

A learned commentator on Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary, remarks respecting the situation of *Vindomis*—"Of the next station we can merely offer a conjecture. As the country of the Atrebates and their capital *Calleva*, or Silchester, is by our author described as lying near the Thames, in distinction from that of the *Segontiaci*, whose capital, *Vindomis*, was further distant from that river, and nearer the Kennet, one point only appears to suit the distances, which bears the proper relation to the neighbouring stations, and at the same time falls at the intersection of two known Roman Roads. This is in the neighbourhood of St. Mary Bourne, and affords reason for considering Egbury camp, or some spot near it, as the capital of the *Segontiaci*."⁴

On examination of the neighbourhood of St. Mary Bourne, we find no remains of any buildings to lead to the supposition that a station so remarkable as the *Vindomis* of the Romans was ever placed there.

Egbury camp, or castle, is situated one mile and a half east of St. Mary Bourne, and about the same height above the sea as Silchester.

The castle, as the entrenchment is called, is in the form of an irregular pentagon, and may originally have enclosed about twelve acres ; but a great part of the rampart has been destroyed, and the whole of the ditch has been filled in. There is but one entrance visible, which is on the west, though there are slight vestiges of one on the east, with faint traces of a road communicating with the ancient way from Newbury to Winchester ; which way seems to have touched, if not actually entered the south-east angle of the camp, and thence have taken a new direction towards Winchester.

The rampart is about nine feet high in one part, towards the north-west angle, at which angle there may have been a signal post.

Though the vestiges of the ditch are scarcely to be seen, its depth was considerable, as the farmer adjoining found when he dug on the east side for a pond ; this excavation failed for the purpose of containing water, the bottom being

⁴ See the late Mr. Leman's observations, appended to Mr. Hatcher's edition of Richard of Cirencester, 1809, p. 156.

See also Sir R. C. Hoare's *Anc. Wilts.*, vol. ii.

composed of rubbish, rich manure, and broken pottery. Scarcely any of the relics found seem to have been preserved; two Roman coins, apparently of Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus, picked up here, are now in the possession of Mrs. Vincent at the farm-house adjoining. These, however, are not sufficient to prove that Egbury was the *Vindomis* of the Itineraries.

With respect to the distances of the camp from the Portway, the farmer pointed out clearly where it ran,⁵ despairing of being ever able to reduce the stony line to the fertility of the surrounding soil; its bearing proves the correctness of his observation, though the uncertainty of its appearance has been the cause of its not being continued just here in the Ordnance map. The distance from Silchester would agree with the Itinerary, being nearly *fifteen* miles; but that from Winchester can scarcely be reconciled with the distance of *Vindomis* from *Venta Belgarum*, being stated in the Itinerary, both of Antoninus and Richard, to be *twenty-one* miles.

If we follow the straight line in one case, it would be but consistent to do so in another, and even with the short miles of D'Anville⁶ we cannot make more than sixteen miles between Winchester and St. Mary Bourne. Had this been the *Vindomis*, it is presumed that some distance from Speen (*Spinis*) would also have appeared in one of the Itineraries.

The Portway is traceable from the certainty of its having followed a straight line: it must have crossed the St. Mary Bourne stream about 250 yards south of the church, where there is still a ford and foot-bridge into Chorley Meadow; this ford may possibly have been continued from the Roman age. Proceeding to the west, its traces appear at the south-east corner of Butt Close, and ascending that field, in which a few of the enormous flints are still found, it is visible as a slight ridge through Derry-down Copse, and thence forms the ancient pathway to Flesh, or Fleych Stile, where it becomes visible as the common road to Middlewick Farm. About half a mile beyond the farm it descends to lower ground, and passes the end of a deep entrenchment

⁵ About 770 yards S. W. of Mr. Vincent's house.

⁶ Bohn's Antiq. Lib., Six Old Eng.

Chron., p. 475. "From these results D'Anville estimates the Roman mile at 755 toises, or 1593 yards, English measure."

called the Devil's Ditch, or Dike.⁷ In its general bearing this work runs south.⁸ It is not quite straight, but conforms to the shape of the valley for some distance from the road, about a quarter of a mile perhaps, and distinguished beyond that by a plantation of fir trees, where it is said to form the boundary of the parish of St. Mary Bourne. There it is well preserved, and may be examined to advantage, particularly at its south end, where the railway has cut through it and exposed a section, from which it would appear that the ditch was about eight feet below the ground, and the rampart the same above it, with the ditch on the *west*. From the railway it ascends a rising ground called Tinker's Hill, and sweeps round the west edge of the summit in a manner to present its ditch to the westward, thus commanding a view of the declivity, and, at the same time, forming a defence to the top of the hill. It does not appear to have been carried beyond this hill, and terminates about 350 yards to the south of the old road called the *Oxen-drove*. Though there is a tradition that the entrenchment extended beyond the Portway on the north, we could not ascertain, nor see any proofs of the story; but about 800 yards north-west of the point of junction we find two tumuli, on a rising ground, a little on the west of Trendley Copse. These tumuli are situated, it may be observed, on the ditch-side of the entrenchment. Devil's Ditch may have been an ancient way, or a boundary, of which the Portway may have been its connecting way or side.

HENRY MACLAUHLAN.

The various relics of Roman times which have been disinterred from time to time at Silchester, are very numerous. Gough, in his additions to Camden's *Britannia* (vol. i., p. 204, edit. 1806), has enumerated many, now, it

⁷ It is near to this ancient dike that Sir R. C. Hoare has placed *Vindomis*, on Finkley Farm, about 600 yards on the south of the Portway, and 200 yards to the west of the dike.

The distance of this spot from Silchester is about seventeen English miles; and that to Winchester about thirteen, in a straight line. (*Anc. Wilts.*, vol. ii., p. 49; fol. ed.)

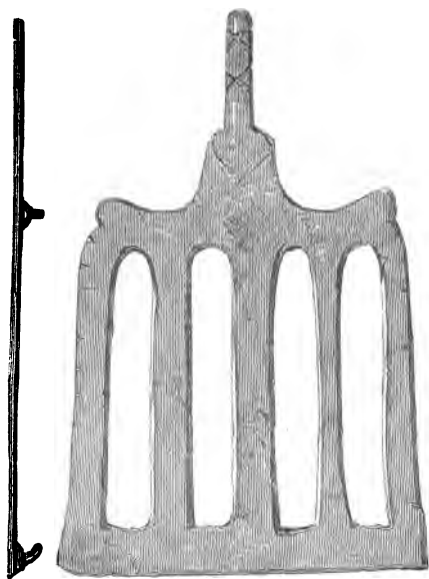
⁸ "Neither can I bring myself to agree

with Mr. Leman, in placing *Vindomis* near Andover, on the way to Salisbury, only because it lies wide of Winchester, but because there is every reason to believe that the Port-way, or Salisbury road, was not at that period in existence, for the Itineraries uniformly make the road to Salisbury pass through Winchester." (*Anonymous Obs. Rom. Roads*, &c., p. 30.)

may be feared, irrecoverably dispersed. Three inscriptions only appear to have been found ; one given by Camden, the sepulchral memorial of Flavia Victorina, seen by him in Lord Burghley's garden, in London, and subsequently noticed by Horsley as preserved at Conington. (*Brit. Rom.*, pl. 75, p. 332.) It does not appear to have been removed thence, with other inscriptions, now at Trinity College, Cambridge. The second referred to in the foregoing observations, the dedication of a Temple, as supposed, to Hercules, was found about 1744, and formed the subject of a memoir by Professor Ward, in the *Philosophical Transactions* (vol. xliii., p. 200). A bronze frame, in which this tablet had been affixed, was subsequently brought to light, and both of these interesting relics came into the possession of Dr. Mead ; they afterwards passed into the collection of Mr. Foote, Rector of Yoxal, and thence into that of Mr. Duane. In the "*Monumenta Historica*," this inscription is given (No. 121 a.), but it is not stated where the tablet is now preserved. The third, described by Gough (as above, p. 205,) and stated, on the authority of Mr. Ward, to exist at Trinity College, Cambridge, was found in 1732 ; it is supposed to refer either to Julia Domna, wife of Severus, or to Julia Mammea. (See also *Archæol.*, vol. xxvii., pl. 32, p. 417.)

Mr. Barton, the present occupant of the site of Silchester, and who resides at the Manor House, within the area of the city, has, with very praiseworthy care, preserved a considerable collection of coins and ancient relics of various kinds, there brought to light. They were, by his kindness, submitted to the examination of the members of the Institute, who were received by him in the most obliging manner, on the occasion of their visit to Silchester, June 22, 1850, during the Oxford Meeting. We have to acknowledge our obligations to Mr. D. J. Maclauchlan for the communication of several drawings, representing ancient objects of the Roman period, now in Mr. Barton's possession, as also for the enumeration of his coins, discovered at Silchester. The list comprises Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Faustina, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, Julia Domna, Caracalla, Valerian, Gallienus, Salonina, Tetricus, father and son, Carausius (several, one with *Rev. ROMA AETER.*), Allectus, Licinius, Valens, Constantine, Magnentius, and Honorius, (A.D. 395—423.) A few Roman

ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT SILCHESTER.

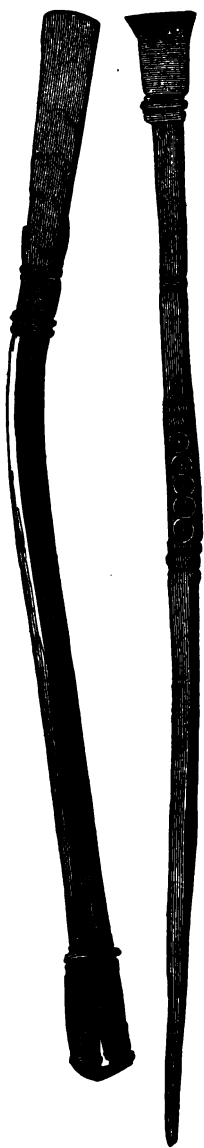


In the possession of Mr. Barton. (Orig. size.)

gold coins have occurred at Silchester. An *aureus* of Valens is in Mr. Barton's cabinet. One of Arcadius was found in 1791, and is figured *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1792, p. 529. A rare *aureus* of Allectus, and one of Valentinian, have also been found.

We do not find in Mr. Barton's interesting little museum any ancient relics formed of the precious metals, such as the curious gold ring, found in ploughing at Silchester in 1785, bearing an antique head, inscribed VENVS, and the words SENICIANE VIVAS IINDE (*sic*) *Archæol.*, viii., p. 449. Objects of such intrinsic value are rare, but he is in possession of several fibulæ, armlets, and other ornaments of bronze of various kinds. By Mr. D. Maclauchlan's kindness, we are enabled to give representations of a few of them. They comprise a bronze *stylus*, and a *ligula* or probe, similar to that figured in Mr. Lee's representation of Roman relics from Caerleon, in this *Journal* (*ante*, p. 160). Also a bronze key, adjusted so as to be worn as a finger-ring; a variety of the *clavis Laconica*. Such rings have repeatedly been found on Roman sites. Van Rymdyk has given one, found at Verulam, in his "Museum Britannicum," tab. vii.; and a good specimen, disinterred at Chesterford in 1847, is in the Hon. Richard Neville's Museum at Audley End. Another may be seen figured in the "Museum Kircherianum," tab. liv. The accompanying woodcuts represent a fibula of unusually slender fashion, a small bell, a curious little object in the form of an axe (*securicula*), possibly a child's toy, and a singular relic, like a miniature gridiron, with three diminutive projections, or feet on one side; it appears to have been adjusted to a handle, of wood possibly, or bone, but its use has not been ascertained.

All these are of bronze, and the representations are of the same size as the originals. It may deserve notice that the



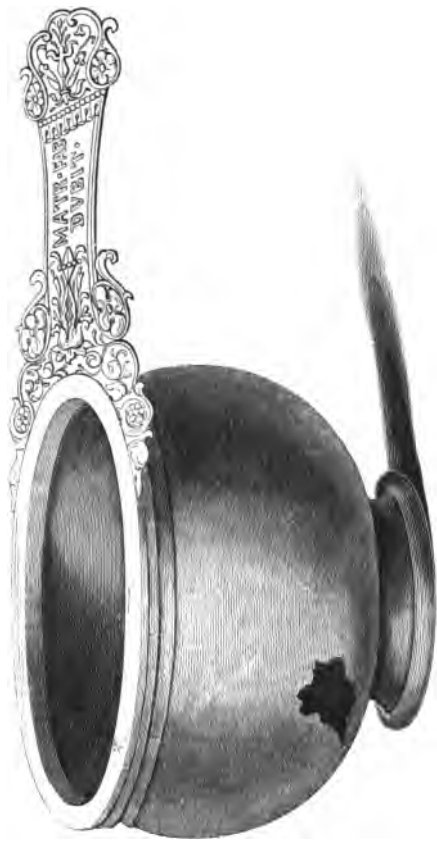
Bronze *stylus* and *ligula*.
Silchester. (Orig. alze.)

double axe occurs amongst the various *crepundia* attached to a band worn over the shoulder on a statue in the Museo Pio Clementino, as shown by Mr. Rich in his useful "Illustrated Companion to the Latin Dictionary," p. 214. This is in accordance with the observation of Plautus,—“Porro crepundia solebant esse annuli, ensiculi, *securiculæ*, maniculæ, bullæ, siculæ,” &c. There are also in Mr. Barton's cabinet miniature figures of a lion, a wolf, (?) and an eagle with its wings displayed; the last measuring about two inches in length. An eagle, described as of steel, was dug up at Silchester about 1788, and exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries. (Archæol., ix., p. 370.) It was supposed to have been a military ensign.

Amongst the relics of which Mr. D. Maclauchlan has kindly communicated sketches, must also be noticed the base of a column (diam. and height 22 in., diam. of base-mouldings 28 in.), a fragment of a shaft (height 45 in., diam. 14 in.), and the upper portion of a capital, with bold foliated ornaments, but much defaced. Its greatest width, at top, measures 3 ft. 5 in. This is probably the same fragment “of the Corinthian order” noticed by Dr. Beeke in 1804 (Archæol., vol. xv., p. 184), and it is interesting as the indication that some architectural monument, of no ordinary importance, existed at *Calleva*.

A. W.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES FROM THE BRUMELL COLLECTION, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



Silver vessel, in which the ornaments were deposited.

Diam. of orig. 4 inches. Height, 2½ inches.

NOTICES OF A REMARKABLE COLLECTION OF ORNAMENTS OF
THE ROMAN PERIOD, CONNECTED WITH THE WORSHIP
OF THE DEÆ MATRES, AND RECENTLY PURCHASED FOR
THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

THE objects to which the following observations relate compose a small collection of antiquities discovered, about the beginning of this century, in the county of Durham, or in some adjoining district. The exact locality was cautiously concealed, that they might not be claimed from the discoverer by the lord of the manor, or perhaps from the lord himself by the Lords of the Treasury, under the provisions of the law of treasure trove.¹ They are said to have been hawked about privately, till they were ultimately purchased by a silversmith in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who unfortunately parted with some portion of them before they were seen by Mr. Brumell, who immediately purchased all that remained in the silversmith's possession; and archaeologists are much indebted to that gentleman for keeping them all together, and not allowing them to be separated when ill health induced him to discontinue collecting, and to sell, by public auction, the treasures, the collecting of which had long afforded him the highest gratification.

The find consisted of an elegant silver vessel resembling a saucepan, with the objects contained in it, and a small silver dish. In the vessel were found five gold rings; one silver ring; two gold chains, with ornaments attached to them; a gold bracelet; a pair of large silver-gilt fibulæ; three silver spoons, two oval and one circular; about 280 Roman denarii; and two large brass coins of Antoninus Pius. On the vessel was found a mirror, which was supposed, but erroneously, to be the lid or cover of the pot. Of all these objects, the saucepan, the six rings, the gold chains, the bracelet, the pair of fibulæ, the three spoons, the mirror, and one of the denarii, remained in the possession of Mr. Brumell, and were, at his sale, purchased for the British Museum.

¹ It is stated in Hodgson's *Hist. of Northumberland*, vol. iii., App., p. 440, that they were found somewhere in that county, N.E. of Backworth, and brought to Newcastle in 1811.

The dish had been disposed of before Mr. Brumell saw them.

The vessel, which resembles a modern saucepan, is of a form by no means uncommon amongst the remains of Roman metal antiquities. They are generally manufactured with great neatness, and sometimes in nests, fitting accurately one into another; their handles perforated, so that several may be hung upon one peg, occupying only a small space in the culinary territories, and peculiarly well adapted for a travelling or camp equipage. The bottoms are very neatly decorated with turned concentric circles, and being flat, are well calculated for heating anything upon the fire. The vessel now under consideration varies in some respects from this description. It is not so well fitted for placing upon the fire, as the bottom is raised by a rim about half an inch high, which might in some degree impede the effect of the fire upon anything cooked therein, and be itself exposed to injury by the fire. It would, however, protect the table from the heat of any hot mess served up in the vessel, and the handle would in some degree protect the fingers of the person carrying it. It might have served for the purpose of pouring out libations; but it is much deeper than the vessels for that purpose generally seen in sculptures, nor are such furnished with handles. Upon the whole, it may most safely be considered as a domestic utensil used in the establishment of the persons indicated by the inscription upon the handle. But who these may be, to what establishment or institution they may have been attached, or what office they may have held, little or no information is to be derived from ancient authors which will enable us to decide.

The vessel is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The handle is $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, broad and flat, very elegantly decorated with flowers and foliage, whose forms confer a variety and grace to its outline. It expands, where it embraces the vessel, to more than one-third of its circumference, and terminates on each side in the head of a longish-beaked bird of a duck-like form. Much of the foliage is very tastefully enriched with gold, and the letters of the inscription—MATR. FAB. DVBIT.—consist of inlaid gold.

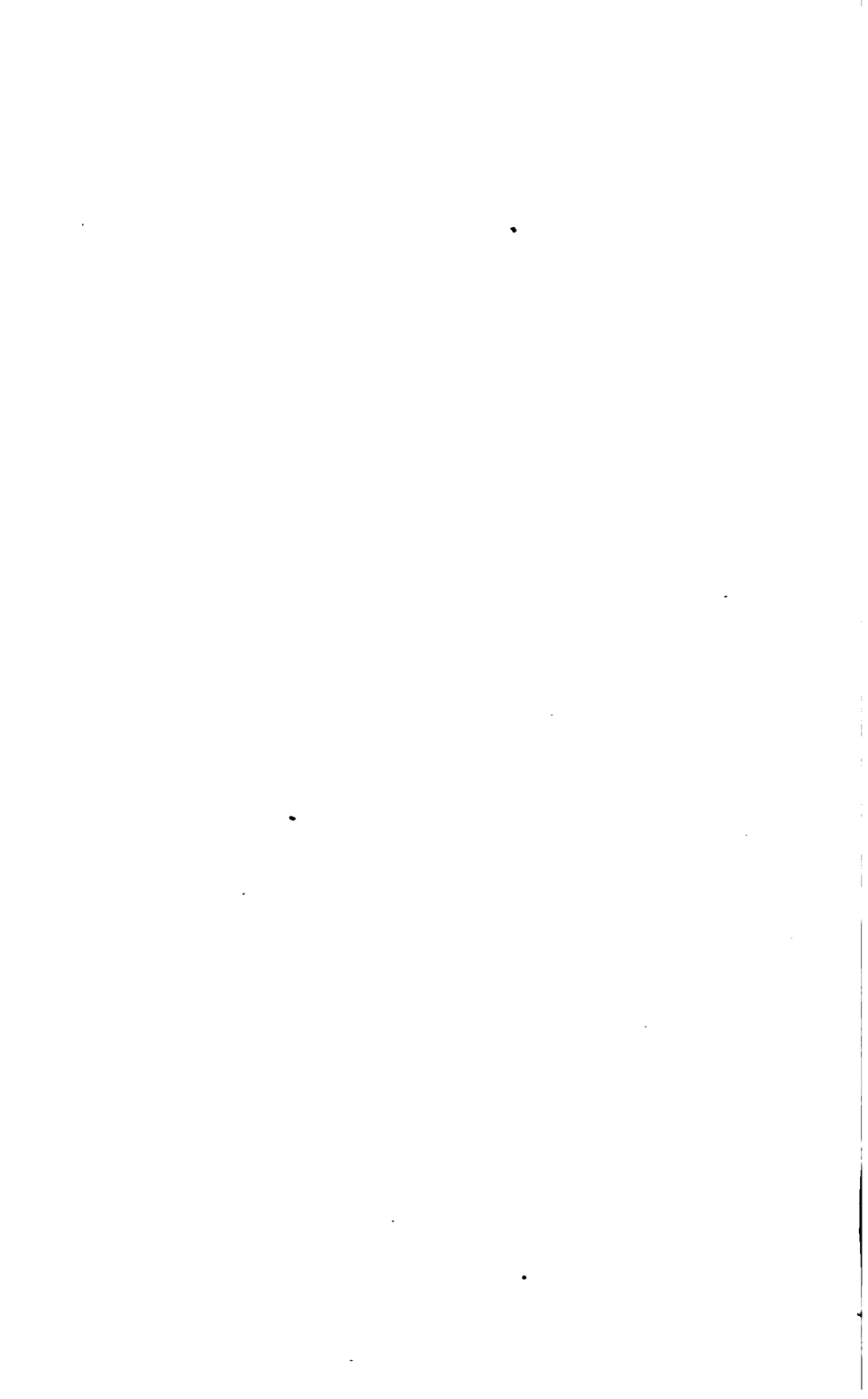
Of the rings contained in this vessel, the first to be noticed is of gold, weighing 8 dwts. 19 grs. The stud is decorated with a raised beaded border, the field within being so deeply



Inscribed handle of the silver vessel.
Length of orig. $\frac{4}{5}$ inches.



Gold rings.
Orig. size.



excavated as to admit the possibility of a crystal having been inserted to cover the inscription, which reads — MATRVM COCOAE. The letters are rudely executed, not engraved, but stamped with small blunt chisels. Those of the last word, or contractions of words, were originally CVCVAE; but subsequently an o has been stamped upon each v, and it now reads, as we see it, COCOAE.

The next ring, of gold, has nothing remarkable about it. It is set with an oval stone, on which is engraved a figure leaning upon something, but so coarsely executed that it is impossible to say whether the figure be a Cupid, a Fortune, a Faun, or a mere countryman. It weighs 8 dwts. 8 grs.

There are two other rings, also of gold, exactly resembling each other in form; each set also with an engraved stone, but so coarsely executed that the subjects cannot be ascertained. One, however, may be supposed to represent two ears of corn. The only peculiarity worthy of note is, that to each stud is attached four round knobs, assimilating in that respect to an object which will be noticed presently, and probably indicating a form fashionable at the time. These two rings weigh respectively 8 dwts. 8 grs., and 5 dwts. 3½ grs.

The next ring is of a very elegant form, being a thick wire of gold, each end reverted, and terminating in the head of a serpent; and between these, three studs of gold, surrounded by smaller studs. These serpents' heads are peculiarly formed, having in some positions the appearance of the calyx and fruit of some plant, and for such they have actually been mistaken. No doubt, however, can remain of their having been intended for serpents, if they are compared with the elegant ornament of which a representation is given, and which formed part of an armlet. It was in the collection of Mr. R. P. Knight, and is supposed to have been found in England. The treatment of the serpent's head exactly corresponds with those upon the ring, and the four gold knobs attached to the stud exactly coincide with those noticed upon the two rings already described. From these coincidences it may probably be inferred that this bracelet was contemporaneous with the several objects now under consideration, and in some way connected with the worship of the Deæ Matres. There are two other objects in the collection of the British Museum which may also perhaps be

connected with the same subject: these are two gold serpents which have formed bracelets. The heads have the same peculiar treatment as those upon the ring. One is much larger than the other, and was in the collection of Mr. Knight having, as supposed, been found with the large fragment.

The last ring found in the vessel is of silver, exactly resembling in form the serpent-ring found with it. It has unfortunately been broken, and one of the serpents' heads with some other portions, are lost. It may be observed that all the silver objects are very much injured by time and the nature of the soil in which they were deposited.

The next objects to be noticed are two gold chains, to each of which is attached a wheel-shaped ornament, having behind it a bar, terminating at each end, beyond the circumference of the wheel, in a loop; to one of these, one end of the chain is permanently fixed; to the other, it is fastened by a loop and hook, as occasion might require. These chains are respectively 2 ft. 4 inches and 2 ft. 8 inches long, and to each about eight inches from the wheel, is suspended a small crescent or lunula. A chain, with a lunula attached, and one of the wheel-like ornaments, is in the possession of Mr. Johnes, of Dolocoutha, near Llandovery, near which place they were found.² The chain was probably broken by the workmen who discovered it, and the object of the ornaments has been mistaken; the wheel having one loop straighter has been supposed to be a fibula; the horns of the lunula have been more bent onwards, and converted into a loop of the chain. A chain with a wheel ornament and attached lunula exactly resembling all these, is figured by Count Cayrol in *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Suppl. vol. vii., Pl. xciv.; in the two following plates are chains and wheel-shaped ornaments, found in Switzerland, and not considered in any other light by the Count than merely female ornaments of dress. With these was an armlet, terminating at each end in an ornament represented as flowers, but indisputably intended for serpent heads; for, when analysed, all the parts correspond with those upon the heads of the serpents already mentioned. A pair of silver armlets, resembling this, were found at Castor, in the county of Bucks, about 1830. All these are coarsely executed, chiefly by the hammer and punch, not

² See *Archaeological Journal*, vol. vii. p. 173.

GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM THE BRUMELL COLLECTION, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



Gold necklace and armlet.



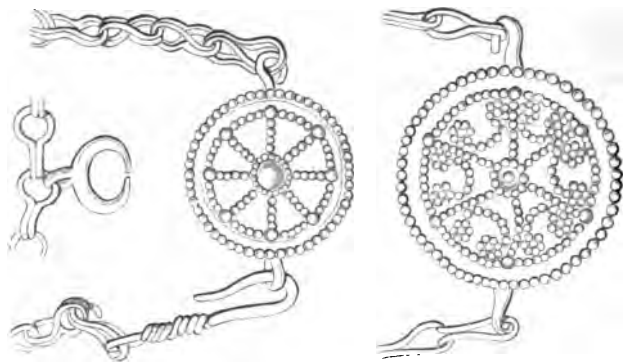
ROMAN ORNAMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



Portion of a gold armlet. Payne Knight's Coll. Brit. Mus.



Silver-gilt fibula. From the Brumell Coll.
Orig. size.



Pendant ornaments of gold.
Orig. size.

sculpture. It is evident that the combination of the chain, the wheel-like ornament and lunula, and perhaps the serpent, was not confined to any locality, but in use in various places, and therefore probably not a mere ornament, but connected with some religious ceremony or feeling.

There is another gold chain, probably an armlet, in this collection, about seven inches long, to which a wheel-like ornament is permanently attached at both ends ; there is not any lunula attached ; a hollow bead is strung upon each loop.

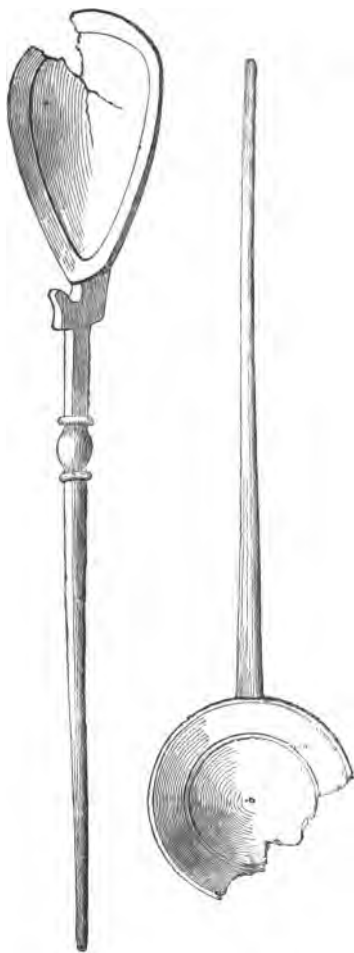
The two fibulæ found within the vessel are precisely similar to each other : there is not anything in their form which, had they been found unconnected with any other objects, could have led even to a conjecture as to any peculiar appropriation of them to any person or society ; as, however, these were found mixed with objects connected with the worship of three united divinities, or Genii, the threefold ornament at the side may have some symbolical reference to these personages. These two objects add another, to many well-known instances, of these large fibulæ being found in pairs.

Of the three spoons, forming part of this find, two are precisely similar ; the handle of one of them is wholly, or partly, modern ; the form is oval, and well known to archaeologists ; the third, having a circular bowl and straight handle, is much more rare ; all have a small groove round the inside of the bowl, which is not usual, and the object of which is not apparent. They are small, too small perhaps for domestic purposes, and have generally been considered to have been appropriated to sacred purposes, to draw out from the acerra, or usual store vessel, such small quantity of precious ointment, or frankincense, as might be required. (See cuts, orig. size.)

The mirror is formed of a circular plate of silver, decorated on one side with concentric incised circles, and a leaf-like border surrounds the edge, which, having been only soldered on, has in a great degree been detached and lost. The mirror was found upon the saucepan, and has been supposed to be its cover. It may have been so, but it appears to be much too large for that purpose ; it has all the usual form of Roman mirrors, and seems to have had some alloy mixed with the silver to adapt it for taking a polish. This has perhaps rendered it brittle, for it has been broken into several pieces ; and it has been repaired, not in a very graceful manner, by attaching to one side of it an ill-formed piece of silver.

One object only remains to be noticed, of little value in itself, but important as fixing the date of the objects with which it was found; it is one of the 280 denarii. It is of Antoninus Pius, struck in his second consulate, corresponding to the year 139 of our æra; and, as this was the latest coin discovered, it may reasonably be concluded that these articles were all deposited in his reign, which terminated in 161, twenty-two years after the date of the latest discovered coin, or at least before the coins of his successor could have come into general circulation in this country. Of the *Deæ Matres*, with whose religious rites and ceremonies these objects appear to be connected, nothing is to be learned from ancient authors; it is only from still-existing monuments, becoming the subject of investigation by archaeologists, that any reasonable, though imperfect conclusions can be formed as to the place which they held in the mythology of our ancestors. These monuments are

votive offerings, or altars, and have been found chiefly in Spain, France, Germany, and England. Where sculptured figures accompany the inscriptions, three females are represented, and they are variously, and perhaps indifferently, denominated as *Matres*, *Matronæ*, *Junones*, &c. &c. To these titles names of places are very frequently added, it may therefore be concluded that these personages were the *Genii*, patron saints, presiding divinities over certain localities, whether districts, towns, or places of still smaller dimensions or importance. They may also be considered as beneficent



personages, more to be approached with prayers for benefits to be conferred, or with thanks for blessings already received, than with addresses deprecating expected evil, or gratitude for evils averted. They are represented holding in their hands, or on their laps, fruit, flowers, or baskets of such cornucopiæ and other symbols of fertility and abundance, implying, as usual in mythological figures, the objects offered to them in propitiation of their favours, and also those which their votaries expected to receive by their mediation. The attendants, who are represented occasionally upon these monuments, are carrying some of the various objects offered to these tutelary divinities ; and these are baskets of fruit or flowers, a bottle, evidently to contain some fluid ; a pot to contain something less fluid. Now it is well known that flowers, fruit, milk, and honey, were the usual grateful offerings to rural divinities, and such therefore we may suppose to be indicated by the baskets, the jug, and the pot.

The three goddesses are generally represented seated upon a long seat, clothed in ample draperies, covering the whole person close up to the chin ; and circular fibulæ appear to have been worn in front of the neck, or upon the shoulders ; but the existing sculptures, or the drawings of them, are so imperfectly finished, or are so decayed, that the exact forms cannot be satisfactorily ascertained. Small chapels are said to have been erected to their honour, or for the celebration of their rites ; and a small chamber re-opened at Ellenborough, in Cumberland, in the year 1766, is supposed to have been one of these chapels. It contained three niches, in which the statues of these divinities were supposed to have been placed, not upon one seat, as they appear on sculptured monuments. The chapel was below the surface of the ground, in some degree corresponding with the grottos usually devoted to the service of rural divinities. (See *Archæologia*, vol. ii., p. 58.) For further information respecting these divinities it will be well to consult the Dissertation of the Abbé Banin (*Hist. de l'Acad. Roy. des Inscriptions*, Vol. vii., p. 34), and a paper by Mr. Roach Smith, in the *Journal of the Archaeological Association*.

The inscriptions which have been mentioned upon the objects in this collection cannot be explained with much certainty. All the known inscriptions referring to the Deæ Matres have been upon altars or commemorative tablets, and

are consequently dedicatory, affording little assistance to the elucidation of these, which are perhaps the only ones which have been made known as attached to objects of ornament or utility, which may be dedicatory, or only indicating proprietorship. The inscription on the handle of the vase is *MATR. FAB. DVBIT.* The name of Dubitatus occurs upon two inscriptions recorded by Gruter; it may read, therefore, *MATRIBVS FABIVS DVBITATVS*, dedicated to the Deæ Matres, or to the use of their priestesses, by Fabius Dubitatus, or perhaps a female, Fabia Dubitata. Or it may be read, *MATRIS FABIÆ DVBITATÆ*, declaring it to be the property of Fabia Dubitata, a priestess of the Deæ Matres. It will be more conformable to the general nature of inscriptions to read it in the dedicatory form, and consider it as dedicated to the service of the divinities mentioned.

The inscription upon the ring, *MATRYM . COCOÆ*, presents greater difficulties; *COCOÆ* appears as one word, there is not any point, or mark of contraction to separate the letters into different words, or to encourage insertion. To no person, place, or office, do the indexes of Gruter or other authors apply such a name, nor any one sufficiently resembling it, to justify the conjectural emendation of a supposed error. The only course is to supply the marks of separation or contraction which, in ancient inscriptions, are frequently omitted, and endeavour to discover some plausible interpretation. It has been already stated that upon existing monuments relating to the Deæ Matres, the names of places over which these divinities presided were frequently inserted; and as these objects now under discussion were found in the north of England, it is reasonable to look out for some place in that part of the kingdom, whose name may possibly be indicated by the letters of the inscription; Colonia *Ælia* has been suggested; but besides that some of the letters would remain unexplained, the name of Newcastle is Pons *Ælii*, not Colonia *Ælia*. It has been conjectured that the inscription might be read, "*Matrum collegii coædituæ*," (To the joint housekeeper of the college of the priestesses of the Deæ Matres). There are, however, strong objections to such an interpretation; there is not any authority for such a college, or such an office; and "*co*" is never the abbreviation of *collegium*. The solution of the enigma must be left to some fortunate discovery of an explanatory inscription, or to the ingenuity of some happy *Œdipus*. All that appears

to be satisfactorily made out is, that these objects are in some way connected with the worship of the Deæ Matres ; and it may be reasonably concluded that the other objects found with them were also used upon similar occasions.

It has been already stated that the divinities were approached with addresses to propitiate their influence in producing fruitful seasons, and of such influence the moon would be considered an appropriate symbol, as beneficial to the increase of corn, cattle, and all things living. "Incrementis frugum, et pecudum, omniumque animantium commoda est ; augmentis enim ejus, detrimentisque mira quadam providentiæ arte, omne quod gignitur, alitur et crescit."³ The prevalence of such opinions may have occasioned the introduction of lunulæ into ornaments worn by votaries of the Deæ Matres.

The moon, however, according to Aristotle, is only a lesser sun, and operates only, by a borrowed influence, in conducing to the generation and growth of all things. It would not be surprising to find the more potent luminary symbolised in the objects worn by the same votaries ; and therefore those persons may be correct who have supposed the wheel-like ornaments attached to these chains as emblems of the sun. If this object is more than a mere ornament, if it is a symbol also, it may perhaps be more reasonable to suppose that it symbolises what it more resembles—a wheel. The moon was considered a fit emblem of the progress of prosperity, because she was seen gradually to increase in magnitude and glory. "Quod illa sit mortalium corporum et author, et conditrix ; adeo ut nonnulla corpora sub luminis ejus accessu patiantur augmenta et huic decrescanti minuantur."⁴ The wheel is a similar and appropriate emblem of the rise and fall of prosperity ; and though it was not so generally figured in ancient sculptures with that view, as it is in more modern times, yet the expression of *Cicero Rota Fortunæ* shows that it was acknowledged as such.

The other object discovered, which may also have a symbolical meaning, is the serpent. The Deæ Matres were not only invoked for fertile fields and fruitful seasons, but several inscriptions prove that they were supposed to exercise a very beneficial influence over the health of individuals ; the snake, therefore, the invariable companion of the Dea Salus, will be

³ Clemens Roman. lib. 8.

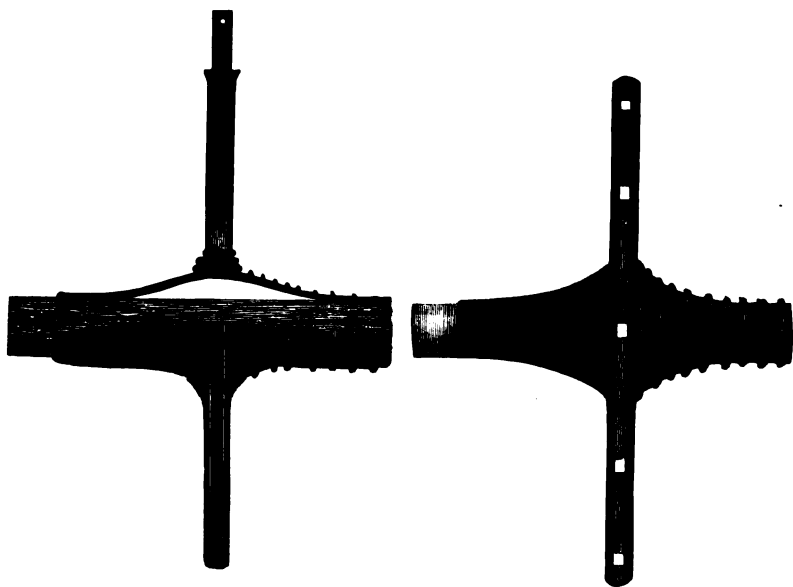
⁴ Macrob. lib. i. in Somn. Scipionis, cap. 11.

very readily admitted to be an appropriate decoration for the votaries of the Deæ Matres.

The hitherto known examples of lunulæ, wheels, or suns, and serpents, have been found under circumstances which have not afforded any elucidation of the uses to which they were applied, or the purposes for which they were made ; nor were any other objects found with them which might facilitate conjecture. In this instance they have been found with objects clearly connected with the worship of the Deæ Matres, and an endeavour is made to show that they are symbols which might reasonably be supposed to appear among the paraphernalia of the priestesses and votaries of those divinities. Let it, however, be remembered that these are only conjectures formed upon exceedingly slight grounds, and thrown out, upon the present occasion, less with a view to illustrate the objects of which representations are given, than to induce Archaeologists to examine minutely and accurately, and to record at the time, faithfully and in detail, all the circumstances attending the discovery of any similar objects at which they may happily be present ; and, as far as they have the power, to prevent the separation of any objects, however insignificant they may appear, which have been found together, at least till they have been thoroughly examined by persons competent to form a sound and correct judgment. Isolated objects are of little value ; a collector may accumulate a number of amusing and elegant specimens, but it is only by combination, concentration, and comparison, that an entertaining collection can be converted into an instructive museum, and Archaeology erected into a science.



REMAINS OF A ROMAN CHARIOT OF BRONZE.



Diam. of Wheel, 22 in.

From the Originals in the Museum of Toulouse.

NOTICES OF REMAINS OF A ROMAN CHARIOT, PRESERVED IN
THE MUSEUM AT TOULOUSE.

BY THE LATE WILLIAM BROMET, M.D., F.S.A.

I do not know that any detailed account has as yet been published of the remains of an ancient car, stated to have been discovered by Sir W. Lawson, in a tumulus upon his property in Yorkshire. The restored bronze car in the Vatican, the dissevered portions of another found by Lucien Bonaparte, at Canino (now in possession of his widow, and for sale), and a few fragments of one found in 1813, at Perugia, of which some are in the museum there, and some were in the collection of Mr. Dodwell, are the only real monuments of this kind now extant (unless, indeed, there be some fragments in the British Museum, and a wheel stated to exist at Berlin). I have accordingly thought that a description of two wheels, together with a pole-end, and a portion of the rim of a bronze car, all in the condition of their discovery, and now in the museum at Toulouse, may possibly be useful for comparison with such remains of antique chariots as may hereafter be brought to light.

The wheels here selected for description are not more than 22 inches in diameter ; each has five spokes—now hollow—which spring from the middle of the nave, and at right angles with it. The nave is of the disproportionate length of more than 14 inches, of which that half that projected towards the body of the car is plain, while the other half projecting outwards is encircled with fillets, as are also the springings of the spokes. The passage through the nave for the axle is, at its ends, 3 inches in diameter ; but it gradually becomes wider towards its centre, so that, except at its ends, there is a large space between the circumference of the axle and the walls of this passage. And here I would remark that this space, which was evidently meant for the access of air, and thereby the prevention of such heat as a more extensive contact and friction might have elicited, proves, perhaps, that

the car to which this wheel belonged had been made for real use, and not (as supposed of the Vatican and Perugian cars) for merely votive purpose.

The felloe, now hollow, is 3 inches broad. Its edge, of 1 inch in diameter, has in its centre a cleft three-quarters of an inch wide, through which, I presume, the felloe was filled with wood, and the cleft then closed with an iron tyer, such tyers having been found with the Vatican car, and in abundance, at Pompeii, although no *bronze* remains of cars have been there discovered. I also presume that the hollows



of the spokes were filled with wood passed through the said cleft ; and, likewise, that the nave ends of these wooden spokes rested on the outer walls of the bronze nave, while their other ends were fastened to the bronze felloe by transverse rivets, which at the same time connected the two faces of the felloe with each other, and as evinced by the position of five of the ten rivet-holes remaining.

The pole-end is 16 inches long, 14 of which are hollow for the reception of the pole of wood, while the extremity, or point, is solid and plain.

The other portion of this Toulouse car seems to have belonged to the hinder rim of the body, being rounded at top, and having a deep cleft at its under side, apparently for placing it thereon. It is 17 inches long, and terminated with a bas-relief representing a man on horseback attacked by a lioness. This part, being of knobbed form, was probably a handle whereby to mount into the car.

The car of the Vatican has been figured by Visconti, at the end of the 5th folio volume of the Museo Pio Clementino ; its original and restored parts are carefully distinguished in the explanatory text of that magnificent work. The fragments of the Canino car have never, I believe, been properly put together ; but a restoration drawing of it was exhibited to the Scientific Congress at Genoa, and a description of it published in the "Transactions" of that congress.¹ The portions of the Perugian car have been described by Vermiglioli, and after him, with comments, by Inghirami, in the third volume of his work upon Etruscan Antiquities.

I shall not speak of the cars and their appurtenances

¹ Edit. in quarto form.

depicted on what are called Etruscan vases, most of these having met with a sufficiently full description ; but since such has not yet been published in regard to the cars represented on some terra-cotta bas-reliefs, in the collection of the Chevalier Campana, at Rome, I will here transcribe a page from my note-book respecting them.

The first that I shall notice has a body of the common curved form, but with a railing around its front, for the better security of the driver, who seems to be a female. The wheels have only four spokes each, and are not higher than a man's leg. There is no appearance of traces to the horses, whence we may infer (provided always that these bas-reliefs give a faithful portraiture of real objects) that each outside horse drew only by a single trace, which passing between him and his central companion, and thus hidden from our view, was attached to the axle-tree ; the two central horses drawing by a yoke, as oxen do. The bitts are not in the horses' mouths, but are placed over their noses, like the cavessons still used in Italy, and all the reins are passed through one ring.

The second on my list has a quadrangular body, with straight top, and four eight-spoked wheels, and was meant probably to represent a public conveyance, as it contains several persons of both sexes, apparently on a pleasure-jauant.

The third has also a quadrangular body, but with two six-spoked and higher wheels, and contains a man and woman who seem to be culprits, each being bound about the neck and wrists with cords held by persons walking at their sides.

The fourth has remarkably low wheels, and its combatant has one foot on the ground.

The fifth has its horses restrained by both hands of the driver, who is apparently a female, and also by one hand of her male companion.

The sixth is a racing chariot, with wheels of eight spokes, in the act of arriving at the *metæ* of a circus.

The seventh, another racing chariot, has its driver swathed about his chest and legs with thick, wide bandages, as if for protecting him from injury in case of being overturned.

In conclusion, I may remark that most of the racing

cars thus represented in the Campana collection are very low, and have wheels of only four spokes, and that the horses are all hog-maned and of slender make.

W. BROMET.

The foregoing communication was prepared for transmission to the Institute by the late Dr. Bromet, as an evidence of his continued interest in the proceedings of the Society, in which for some years previously he had actively participated. It was written during his last continental tour, not long previously to his decease ; and it was included among the memoirs brought before the Section of Early and Medieval Antiquities, at the Oxford Meeting. Towards the close of that meeting the intelligence reached the Institute, that the zealous researches of one of their earliest friends and coadjutors had been brought to a close by his untimely death in a distant country.

THE CASTLE, AND 'THE PROVISIONS OF OXFORD.'

WHEN the Conqueror's survey was made, it does not appear that there existed any military building at Oxford. The mill has continued probably on the same spot down to the present time, from the days of Edward the Confessor ; but the castle adjoining it, is the erection of a later reign. The town was walled round in the middle of the eleventh century, and so were some of the houses, termed *mansiones murales*, perhaps from being dwellings with the exterior protection of an enclosure by walls. As helping to contribute by this means to the general defence of the place, their occupiers were exempted from the payment of geld, and of all taxes excepting murage, or of attending the King in his expeditions. In endeavouring to ascertain the exact date of the castle, we must first of all inquire whether there is any official record of the Crown that will throw any light as to the precise time when it was built ; and the absence of any mention of it in Domesday, where several are enumerated, and which would undoubtedly have named this had it been in existence, proves that it is a building of a lower period. The place was, however, of considerable strength and importance, since it was here that the Conqueror directed his first operations after he had heard of the alliance formed betwixt the Saxons, and Malcolm, King of Scotland. The citizens offered a vain resistance to his assaults ; and the Normans entering through a breach in the walls, avenged themselves for the opposition they had encountered by destroying four hundred houses, and cruelly treating the inhabitants.

The castle must have been erected within the space of half-a-century afterwards, since we find allusion made to it in the Monkish Historians, who have written on the transactions of the period. For, as the Saxon Chronicle states,—when the Empress Matilda had divided the allegiance of the English betwixt King Stephen and herself, her supporters carried her to Oxford, and put her in possession of the town. The King was then in prison ; but

as soon as he was liberated and heard of her success, he took his army and besieged her in the Tower, from which the soldiers inside let her down by ropes at night, and thus she stole away and fled on foot to Wallingford. The story of her escape is slightly varied by William of Malmesbury, who says that the townsmen being anxious for their own safety when Stephen besieged them, they allowed her, with four soldiers, to pass out through a small postern, and so reaching Abingdon on foot, she thence proceeded on horseback to Wallingford. This event, which happened in the year 1142, is therefore conclusive as to the existence of a castle at Oxford at that time. And, upon examining the earliest architectural remains of the present fortress, there is no reason to doubt that a considerable part is assignable to the same time. Nor is there anything to forbid the assumption, as far as its character is concerned, that the tower now standing is the tower the Empress Matilda lodged in during her short sojourn at Oxford. Judging too from the general inductions which architectural observers have laid down as a guide for determining dates, there is enough to be seen in that part of the building, erroneously called Maude's Chapel, to show that it belongs to the end of the eleventh, or very beginning of the twelfth century (between 1087 and 1135.) The mound is unquestionably very much earlier, and before the Saxon period, but the remains within it belong to the time of Henry III., so that here may be seen what preceded the Mercians, and the latest remains erected by the Plantagenets. The crypt, commonly called Maude's Chapel, is a most interesting example of early Norman work.¹ The vaulting is bold, and the voussoirs carefully worked with stools. The capitals of the piers are highly curious. It was in all probability the crypt under the Great Hall. Before, however, opening the examination of the existing buildings, it will be well to go on gathering what few particulars we can of an authentic kind that have been recorded on official documents.

The custody of the County of Oxford, and the castle, were

¹ It has been asserted, on what appears to me rather vague authority, that the whole of this crypt has been rebuilt within the last half century; as I must confess I can discover nothing to favour this statement, beyond the ambiguity inseparable

from every kind of hearsay testimony, I wish to leave it an open question for architectural observers to decide, and say how far existing appearances can be reconciled to the current tradition.

united from the earliest notice that mentions their existence. And hence the sheriff was the constable ; and since every outlay, either for actual buildings that were necessary, or for the repairs of those existing, were made under precepts issued to him from the Crown, these expenses will be found entered on the Great Roll of his accounts, annually delivered into the Exchequer. I have looked through these from the thirty-first of Henry the First, to the end of the reign of Edward the Second, but only two entries have been discovered relating directly to the Castle of Oxford.—The first, 33 Henry II., 1187, states a small charge of 1*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*, for repairing a certain house in the Castle of Oxenford, and is, therefore, also decisive as to its erection before this year. The two others belong to the second and third of Richard the First. In the former years, there is a charge of sixty shillings for covering the King's Hall ; and in the ensuing one, 8*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.*, for general restoration.

But if these records are unusually deficient during its early state, it may be accounted for by the fact, that the castle being recently built, it would need but trifling renovation, or else no doubt the entries would have been as full as those on the Great Roll of the Pipe concerning Dover, Bridgenorth, and Nottingham, or those relating to the King's houses at Clarendon, Marlborough, and Woodstock. And, indeed, after the Empress Matilda had made her escape from Oxford, and Stephen was dead, Henry the Second, upon whom the possession of the castle devolved, preferred living in his residence at Woodstock, where he is supposed to have been attracted by the charms of the fair, and perhaps the fabled, inhabitant of its sylvan bowers, and upon this place he made a considerable outlay. Yet, like his predecessors, he held a council at Oxford in 1177 (as Henry the First did, in the New Hall, 1133), when his youngest son John was created King of Ireland.

When this latter Prince ascended the throne, he ordered the fosse surrounding the castle, and the bretasches to be repaired (Rot. Claus. 6 John) ; and he held councils here in the fifth, eighth, and fifteenth years of his reign. Considerable discussion has arisen respecting the constitution of the last two councils, but it will hardly be necessary to pursue the inquiry as to the points in dispute, since the difficulties respecting the one held in the eighth year of

John's reign, relate chiefly to a nice definition of the title *Magnates*, namely,—whether the word was to be understood in an enlarged sense, as including all the tenants-in-chief of the Crown by military service, or simply those who held by barony. The investigation that the wording of the writ has received, is by no means unimportant, since its true interpretation determines the composition of our early constitutional assemblies. And if the appellation of *Magnates* admits of the extended signification it has obtained, it will show that not only military tenants included all the tenants-in-chief by military service, but sometimes Knights of the Shire, and such as became *Magnates* by subinfeudation, or as holding lands as escheats of the Crown. The convocation, therefore, of these increasing numbers, would be jealously regarded by the nobility; and on the other hand, the nobility themselves were now growing so formidable and hostile to John, that it became his policy to introduce into the Council men, who, in addition to their own natural popularity, would be able to neutralise the power of his opponents.

The council held in the fifteenth of John's reign, was called together under more distinctly recognised qualifications, as the four knights for the counties were then for the first time expressly nominated to attend. The affairs of the nation had now taken a serious aspect, for this was the last council the King held before the Barons wrested from him at Runnymede the Great Charter of Rights upon which modern liberties are founded. There does not appear, indeed, any precedent for this innovation, but it is nevertheless undoubtedly clear, that the counties now possessed, whether in themselves, or by the writs of the sheriff, we know not, the first opportunity of returning freeholders to represent them in Parliament. And we may from hence perceive how gradual was the introduction of changes in the mode of representation; no alteration being planned with the particular object of enlarging or amending it, but every improvement taking its origin spontaneously, and flowing out of the current of circumstances.

John visited Oxford in nine different years of his reign, and passed here forty-five days of his life after he became king; which for so restless and wandering a monarch, was a considerable length of time, and shows that he must have

been well satisfied with the accommodations his castle at Oxford afforded.

If the official documents have hitherto contained but meagre notices respecting one of the objects of enquiry, when we enter on the reign of Henry III. there is no longer cause to regret the absence of information. For we have now an increased class of records to refer to, and the Close Rolls and the Liberate Rolls, but more especially the latter, supply most interesting and curious particulars about the royal buildings in England, the expense of their erection and reparation, the names of the different engineers who planned them, and of the artists who decorated their interiors. The Close Rolls, down to the tenth of Henry III., have been printed; the Liberate, or Payment Rolls, are reserved to moulder away without the security of a transcript being made for the instruction of those who may succeed us, and who may too late discover in a few scattered extracts the importance of historical matter, which the present generation of inquirers look at with a degree of apathy difficult to understand. There are three valuable rolls of this description (2, 3, 5) belonging to the reign of King John, and forty-five to that of Henry III. During the reign of the three Edwards they are still more complete.

The Liberate Rolls of Henry III. commence in the tenth year of his reign, and, wanting three (15, 16, and 47), run on in generally indifferent condition to the close. During this space of forty-four years, there are entries under twenty-three relating to the Castle. Some of them, it is true, merely state the order for repairs; but others are curious for the insight they throw upon the domestic arrangements, and the sort of social state that was observed within its precincts. It may hereafter be thought desirable to print these extracts entire, together with a list of the constables, from the Originalia and Patent Rolls, but our present convenience will be most favoured by bringing forward only those matters which present the most attractive features for observation.

It may be safely inferred, that besides the present keep, singular from its rude construction, and the unusual amount to which it batters, there was observable in the early arrangements various other buildings, such as the garrison chapel,

the chaplain's house, the hall, the kitchen, the pantry, scullery, larder, the chambers of the King and Queen, and his private chapel, all of which were enclosed by the girdle of a lofty exterior wall ; and without attempting to indicate the exact extent, for this is only what the careful observation of dwellers on the spot can fix by means of tracing the foundations, or by local knowledge, it is natural to suppose that works were continually needed to sustain these various buildings in proper repair. Such general expense of maintenance it will be advisable to pass over, as perplexing by its minuteness, and therefore the attention shall be confined to such entries as appear more deserving of notice.

We will commence with the chapel ; it is now difficult to ascertain its site, but we gather from the Liberate Roll (11, Hen. III.) that the interior had open fittings, as the sheriff was ordered to have four forms (*quatuor formas*) made for it ; that the chancel was plastered (28, Hen. III.), and that late in that king's reign (53, Hen. III.), there was erected near the gate, out of the old timber of the old kitchen, a good and proper chamber for the use of the royal chaplains and clerks. Their remuneration was small, if it consisted of nothing more than a money payment, as the king's chaplain seldom took more than fifty shillings a year. Besides this, Queen Alienora had her private oratory, which was decorated with paintings before the High Altar (30, Hen. III.). There was a store-room made (11, Hen. III.) in the pantry of the king's hall, to keep the bread in for the royal table, and the hall, like the chapel, was plastered (28, Hen. III.). The windows of the Great Hall did not usually open. Those in the noble refectory of Battle Abbey had the upper part glazed, and the lower provided with a small shutter to let in air. But in 1244 (28, Hen. III.) a new window was inserted north and south of the hall at Oxford to admit of this convenience. In the same year a handsome porch was built before the door of the hall, on the south side ; and subsequently (30, Hen. III.), an oriel beyond it. Its windows were altered and repaired two or three times during this reign. It was also furnished with light internally by two iron candelabra (34, Hen. III.), and most likely possessed a chair of state, similar to the carved one ordered by the King himself for his castle at Northampton. The kitchen

underwent frequent reparation, till at last a new one was built for the king's family in a vacant area betwixt the old one and the larder (30, Hen. III.). And besides the store-room and pantry before mentioned, there was a salting-house, a scullery, and a meal-house; a brew-house, stables, wardrobes; and chambers for the King and Queen, private chambers, the chamber of Prince Edward, and the outer chamber of the servants. In short, we gather from those twenty-three Liberate Rolls bearing entries on the subject, that the Castle of Oxford contained every convenience befitting the royal inmates.²

The Close Roll of the fifth of Edward II., mentions an allowance to Richard Damory, Warden of Oxford Castle, of the wages of six men-at-arms and twelve footmen, retained in the castle for its safe custody: and also thirty quarters of corn, sixty quarters of malt, four tons of wine, ten quarters of salt, ten carcasses of beef, forty hogs, and five hundred dried fish to be provided for the castle. The Fine Roll of the same year confirms the annual allowance to the said warden of 100 shillings out of the issues of his bailiwick, to be expended yearly in repairs.

The Patent Rolls of the fifth of Edward the Third contain a petition from the Chancellor of the University, stating, that they, by charters of the King's progenitors (which would be those granted, 15, Hen. III.), had the power, if a layman committed any great damage on a clerk, or a clerk on a layman, or a clerk on a clerk, of sending the malefactor to the castle, but that the sheriffs of the county and wardens of the castle had frequently refused to receive them. The King therefore commands the present and future sheriffs and wardens to receive the malefactors whom the Chancellor may send to be incarcerated in the castle, and to keep them safely till the Chancellor demand them. But a multitude of scholars or laymen shall not be admitted into the castle to visit the malefactors.

During the absence of the Court, it was left in the custody of the sheriff, who superintended all the necessary works,

² These extracts were made before the appearance of Mr. Hudson Turner's valuable contribution from the same records, to the "History of Domestic Architecture," in which he has given numerous interesting details regarding Oxford. I

have, however, preferred leaving this paragraph in its original form, as the reader who desires to see these facts in a more extended shape, will naturally place himself under the guidance of that sound and accomplished historian.

and so slightly were parts of it built, that there are precepts almost annually recurring which show that repairs were essential very soon after the buildings themselves were first raised. This slight and defective mode of construction was not, however, peculiar to Oxford, but must be rather regarded as a characteristic of the military buildings of the period ; all of them exhibit sufficient evidence of the negligent way in which castles were built. And if the proof were not too frequently before the eyes, a glance over some of the Rotulets of the Great Roll of the Pipe would confirm the assertion, since it tells us that even the Castle of Oxford, which was commenced in 1166 (12, Hen. II.), and finished in 1173, substantial and perfect as it now looks, wanted reparation within the first fifteen years. Yet, notwithstanding the decay to which the sheriff's attention had been directed, when an inquisition was taken (51, Hen. III.), it was sworn before a jury, that during the whole of the thirty-seven previous years, the whole fortress had been gradually getting more dilapidated ; the gaol had fallen down, as well as the brewhouse, and all the rest of the buildings threatened ruin. The three bridges, which had been repaired little more than twenty years before, had deteriorated under every successive sheriff ; and, in short, everything excepting the great tower and the enceinte, needed such renovation as could not be done under a cost of sixty pounds.

It will not be altogether irrelevant to show how some of the Liberate Rolls serve to illustrate the state of the arts in England during this reign, more especially as the extracts will be confined to the royal residence at Woodstock. The taste for painting was at this time fully recognised, and there are numerous entries showing how freely the regal palaces were adorned by the artistic talent of the time.

The great chamber of Henry III. at Woodstock was adorned with pictures, and there was a representation of the cross, and of the Blessed Mary and St. John, in the great chapel. Over this were painted two angels like cherubim and seraphim. These could only have been executed in body colour, as there is an order to paint them again within seventeen years. There were also two pictures representing two bishops, and another of the Blessed Mary, in the chapel of St. Edward. Besides these tabulæ, we have an account of a design in stained glass for the new chapel, exhibiting the Blessed Mary ;

and some heavenly person was depicted on the window of the sacrarium. The old chapel showed the history of the woman taken in adultery, our Lord writing on the ground, the conversion of St. Paul, and the history of the Evangelists. We also find an order for representing a Majestas, or Maestà, of the enthroned Saviour, or Virgin Mary, of the four Evangelists, and St. Edmund and St. Edward, which were to be painted in good colours. Those who have examined the truly beautiful execution and purity of design exhibited in the early specimens of art in the Chapter House of Westminster, will readily form an idea of the merits of the paintings at Woodstock.

A council was held at Woodstock for the general dispatch of business in 1235 (19, Hen. III), and in 1247 (31, Hen. III.) the terms of a convention were arranged there betwixt the King, and Owen and Llewellyn, Princes of Wales, a question of considerable moment, because Henry was at that time endeavouring to annex the Principality to England.

There was also transacted at Oxford, during the long reign of Henry III., several matters of the greatest interest, for, independently of the councils held here in the sixth (1221, *a Curia*), thirteenth (1228, *a Curia*), when the kitchen of the castle was ordered to be repaired against the King's visit at Christmas (Rot. Lib., 13, Hen. III.), seventeenth (1223), twenty-second (1238), thirty-first (1247), thirty-eighth (1254), forty-second (1258), and forty-eighth (1264), years of his reign, the barons who met here in the forty-second year, exacted those celebrated Provisions which, although impaired by arbitrary dictation to the King when he was incapable of vindicating the royal prerogative, were nevertheless the universal cause of extending the privileges of the community; and, notwithstanding a spirit of faction clouded the purity of their motives and rendered their patriotism doubtful, yet it must be confessed on all sides that their exertions greatly advanced the cause of national liberty.

The overbearing conduct of Henry, his necessities, and his tyranny, had rendered him so extremely unpopular, that the discontented barons, yielding readily to the instigation of Simon de Montfort, assembled and demanded a redress of their grievances. Some of their wishes were sufficiently reasonable; for instance, their desire to have a confirmation

of the Great Charter of his father, and fixed periods during the year for the meeting of Parliament; but when the Council of Twenty-four sought to reform abuses, they usurped an unconstitutional power over the whole kingdom, not unlike that exercised by the thirty tyrants at the close of the Peloponnesian war, and as long as the Provisions remained in force, the kingdom was kept in a state of inquietude and confusion.

This is the first time the term Parliament occurs in any official document, and, in allusion to the strong measures introduced by the barons, it was subsequently called the Mad Parliament.

Very little need be said about the Parliament held at Oxford in the forty-eighth of Henry III. The custom of assembling knights from every county had been previously adopted, but at this meeting, instead of being nominated, as formerly, by the King or the sheriff, they were summoned to be chosen by the assent of the county, thus originating the modern practice. In the interval between the two Parliaments, the King of France had been called in to mediate betwixt Henry and the Barons, but his award was indignantly rejected, the nobles declaring that the Provisions of the former convention were grounded on the Great Charter, and they resolutely determined to maintain them to the end of their lives, as equally conducive to the good of the King and the nation at large. Very soon after this memorable declaration, a contest ensued, fatal, in its immediate consequences, to the King's personal authority, by his defeat and capture at Lewes. He was still further humiliated by the treaty called the Mise of Lewes, and by the use made of its conditions. So that the royal prerogative was almost suspended, in the exercise of its proper functions, till after the Battle of Evesham. The prejudice of the age attributed his disasters to an ambiguous act of devotion he showed towards the relics of St. Frideswide, which, for five centuries, it had been forbidden for any monarch to approach; but although he was not stricken with mortal blindness, like the Mercian Prince Algar, when he pursued the Saint into Oxford, there were many persons found who considered his misfortunes to have been sent as an act of Divine retribution for his indiscreet intrusion upon the sacred shrine. Yet in the dispassionate view we are now capable of taking of these

transactions, in spite of the innovations, the rude overthrow of power, and its abuse, together with the bad faith of the King in subsequently resisting the Provisions he had accepted, the spirit of the articles themselves led the actors generally to take a wise and temperate estimate of the conduct of the two contending parties. The leading actors at this remarkable crisis were unconsciously preparing the way for popular representation, and for a full adoption of those principles which, in the next reign, modelled the frame of a British House of Commons. The King was, for the remainder of his life, obliged to use his undeserved success with a higher respect for the rights of his subjects, whilst a salutary dread affected thinking minds that the establishment of an aristocratical legislature was but a change of servitude, as fatal to the true interests of the people as were the exactions and oppression of the Crown.

It is extremely difficult to pourtray these memorable events in a clear, and yet succinct manner. The whole of the constitutional questions of this long reign are perplexing in themselves, and our difficulties are increased by the want of official documents, so that we are often obliged to depend upon the doubtful testimony of a monkish historian. In a short sketch like the present, it would be impossible to unravel their obscurity. Those who are desirous of tracing the rise and progress of these various changes must enter upon a field of investigation, which would be too wide for one who now merely professes to indicate slightly the points best worth consideration.

I have already quoted from original documents with a tedious diffuseness, because they not only serve to cast some fresh light on the internal arrangements and decorations of the palaces of the Plantagenets, but also because they relate to buildings wherein these important questions concerning the expanding liberties of the English nation, were either checked in their growth, or fostered by the wisdom of the Crown. It is impossible we should ever look coldly upon scenes hallowed by so many striking incidents. They solemnly remind us of the struggles or perilous achievements of our forefathers, of their deeds of valour, their patriotism, or their devotion; and they should serve to increase in the affections an admiration for their generous and lofty principles, mixed, though they may be, with much that is

incompatible with modern notions of political justice or even humanity. We may knit together the noblest impulses of the past, with the refinement of the present age, and thus embody the fleeting shadows of antiquity with vitality and existence. Nor are they to be envied who would suffer such associations to remain inactive in the heart, who would teach us to deny the natural instinct of political sympathy, and by bidding us consign to oblivion the serious grandeur of historic recollections, efface all those marks of our progress which have been sheltered under the hallowed wings of time.

CHARLES HENRY HARTSHORNE.

THE LINES FORMED ROUND OXFORD, WITH NOTICES OF
THE PART TAKEN BY THE UNIVERSITY IN BEHALF OF
THE ROYALIST CAUSE, BETWEEN 1642 AND 1646.

THAT Oxford was encircled with a continuous and regular fortification, systematically disposed, appears to be undoubted ; some slight traces are still remaining where they originally existed. The authority of Anthony à Wood is of itself sufficient to justify the assertion, and an old map of Oxford still remains, where " old fortifications " are delineated in many points, on the circuit of the place.

The exact nature of these fortifications it is difficult at once to state ; the sketch which accompanies this notice is copied (nominally) from Anthony à Wood, but yet Wood's own words would appear to disprove the truth of this delineation, while the interpolations in the Latin translation of the "*Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis*" (where the original plate exists), puzzle the inquirer as to the facts therein related, whether as regards the engineer of the lines, or the entire authenticity of the plan that is given.

As, however, the English edition of "The History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford," by Anthony à Wood, published in 1796, by John Gutch, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, appears to be that best worthy of belief, being printed from Wood's original manuscript, it will be better, probably, to extract (for want of more detailed information, which I had hoped to obtain at Queen's College) what is said in Wood's Annals, of the making of the lines round Oxford, and the siege of that place, and then to state what there may appear against such statement, and the reasons why, in spite of such objections, credit has not been refused to the Latin translation, although Gutch's edition of Wood has been preferred.

A letter was written by Charles I., at York, dated 7th July, 1642, directed to Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, then Vice-Chancellor of the University, which was read in Convocation on Monday, July 11th, 1642. The tenor of which was, that Dr. Chaworth was authorised to receive and give receipts for money which the University might send ;

to this application the Convocation assented, and agreed that whatever money the University was possessed of, whether in Saville's Mathematician's chest, Bodley's, or in the University chest, should be sent to the King. On this a large sum was given, for—"after the Convocation was ended, the keepers of the University chest took thence 860*l.* and delivered it into the hands of the said Dr. Chaworth, who gave them an acquittance for the receipt of it." That this was the case is evident by an order from the Parliament, dated 12th July, 1642, stating that—"Whereas the Lords and Commons in Parliament are informed, that attempts had been made to stop the collection of money to be raised by the Parliament for defence of the kingdome, and that the authorities (enumerating them) had endeavoured against law to take away the plate and treasure of the Colleges and University, and to send the same to York, for maintaining wars against the Parliament and the whole kingdome, they therefore declare the said colleges not bound by the Act of Convocation, forbid the giving of the treasure, and promise to bear them harmless."

Upon this the King wrote more than one letter, the first dated from the court at Beverley, 18th July (afterwards published to Convocation), wherein he presents his thanks, through Dr. Prideaux, to the University, for the testimony of their hearts towards him, and promises them protection.

This appears to be the first occasion on which the University had to declare so very decidedly between the Parliament and Charles ; but on the 9th of August, the proclamation for the suppression of the rebellion came out, and immediately after the University began to put themselves in a posture of defence, and the "privileged mens' arms were called before Dr. Pinke, Deputy-Vice Chancellor, to be viewed, when not only privileged men of the University and their servants, but also many scholars appeared, bringing with them the furniture of every college that had arms."

They were divided then into four squadrons ; two were musketeers, the third pikes, and the fourth halbards, and they were drilled.

"While these things were going on, the highway at the hither end of East bridge, just at the corner of the chaplain's quadrangle of Magdalen College, was blocked up with long timber logs, to keep out horsemen. A timber gate also was

set up at the end of the logs next towards the college, for common passage of carts and horses to bring provisions to the city, which gate was commonly kept shut at nights and chained up. There were three or four cart-loads of stones also carried up to Magdalen College tower, to fling down upon the enemy at their entrance. Two posts were set up at South-gate, for a chain to run through them to block up that way against horsemen ; and a crooked trench, in form of a bow, made across the highway at the end of St. John's College Walks, next the New Park, to hinder the entrance of any forces that should come that way ; at which place, as also at East Bridge, was a very strict centinell kept every night."

Wood then goes on to describe the raising of bodies of troops, and their drilling within the University, and ends by saying, that, "August 29th, the court of guard was kept, and the watch solemnly appointed and kept that night by the scholars and certain troopers."

This is the first mention of the University, as connected with the actual defence of the place, and from this time for three or four years during the rebellion, they appear to have lost sight of their natural position as members of a scholastic community, and to have given themselves up to the defence of the place, and their ingenuity seems to have been somewhat primitive, since there is a notice that on "Sept. 2, *barbed arrows* were provided for one hundred scholars, to shoot against such soldiers that should come against them."

Nor was this the only instance in which archery, so long laid aside, was once more proposed to be introduced ; for a plan was devised of raising a regiment of bowmen, as appears from the following letter to the University from King Charles the First :—

"CHARLES R.

"Trustie and wellbeloved, wee greet you well. Whereas John Knightly, Esq. and Colonell, hath undertaken a very commendable and acceptable service for us, namely the raising of a Regiment of twelve hundred Bowmen volunteers to be levied and furnished with suitable armes, for the furthering wheareof hee hath besought us to recommend his said undertaking to you ; to the end that you may permit him to raise the said Regiment out of this our Universitie

and the priviledged men theareof, whoe will voluntarilie list themselves for this service, and that you would consider of a waye for the maintaining at youre common charge of soe many of the sayd bowmen and officers as shall bee levyed out of our sayd Universitie and priviledged men. This undertaking and proposition is represented to us as that which may bee of very greate use and availe to us in the expedition wee shall make against the Rebells ; wee have, thearefore, given Commission to the sayd John Knightly to proceed in the levying of the said Regiment, and the same to command as Colonell. And wee heereby recommend him and the premises to your consideration and furtherance ; and soe wee bid you farewell.

“ Given at our Court at Oxford, the first daye of Octob. 1643.”

On Sept. 9th, the University were informed that the fair pretences of the citizens of joining with the University and king's troops in the defence of the city, were good for nothing, that their minds were altered, that they had been communicating with the Parliament, and that it was reported that the Parliament had a purpose to send forces immediately against the king's troopers and the University for receiving them ; in consequence of which information the troops marched to join the King on Sept. 10th, accompanied by a number of scholars as volunteers.

On the 12th, a considerable body of the Parliament troopers marched in, and were billeted in the place.

Sept. 14th, Lord Say, who had been appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Oxfordshire by the Parliament's authority, entered Oxford, and lodged at the Star Inn. He immediately gave orders that the works and trenches which the scholars had made across the highways about the city should be demolished.

It was now discussed between Lord Say and the chief officers of the forces in Oxford, whether, in consequence of the nature of the place, the strength of the situation, the plenty of the country, the nearness of London, and the disaffection of the University to the Parliament cause, it were not probable that the king, who was coming to Shrewsbury (in the direction of Oxford), might not probably make this a principal quarter for his forces, and fortify the city. It was suggested that it should be fortified and garrisoned on

behalf of the Parliament, and the governorship given to one Bulstrode Whitelocke, an Oxford man and officer of the Parliament, to which it is said the city willingly agreed. Lord Say, however, decided that it would not be advisable, imagining that Oxford would not be a place that Charles would settle in.

Lord Say, however, called the heads of houses together ; told them they had forfeited their privileges by taking up arms against the Parliament, and threatened to leave a garrison to overawe them.

The parliamentary troops, however, having quitted Oxford before the battle of Edgehill (23rd Oct.), the University, too, having been disarmed, the citizens began to fortify their city, setting up posts and chains at every gate and postern, to the end, as it was reported, to keep out Prince Rupert and the king's forces. Wood says, " Whether this (meaning the *intention* of the city) be true, I know not." If it were so, they were shortly frightened into inconsistency, for on Oct. 29th, the King, with his army of footmen, came from Edgehill to Oxford, with Prince Rupert and his brother, Prince Maurice, Prince Charles, and James Duke of York. They came in their full march into the city, with above sixty or seventy colours borne before them which they had taken at Edgehill from the Parliamentary forces, when the mayor and citizens presented themselves to his Majesty at Pennyless-bench, and gave him a considerable sum of money. Nov. 2nd., the troops marched to Abingdon ; Nov. 3rd., the King, the prince and duke, with a troop of dragoons, went towards Reading, leaving behind Earls Bristol and Dorset, with Lords Andover and Digby, and an escort, who disarmed the city, and commenced providing arms, raising troops, and fortifying the place—particulars, unfortunately, are not given further than that on Nov. 30th, Charles having returned from Reading, a new gate of timber was set on the east bridge, and a bulwark raised between it and the corner of the Physic-Garden wall, which being soon finished, there were planted thereon two pieces of ordnance to secure the entrance that way. A trench, also, at that time, was making near to that of the scholars by the wall of St. John's College walks, for the defence of the University and city. Dec. 5th, the University bellman went about the city warning people to dig at the works through the New Park ; and

according to that order the colleges sent men who worked for several days. The citizens, also, were warned to work at the bulwarks on the north side of St. Giles's Church, and the country by St. John's College walks, and the next day the King rode to see the said fortifications, when he found but twelve persons working on the city's behalf, whereas there should have been 122, of which neglect his Majesty took notice, and told them of it in the field.

I find no further notice of fortifications, or, indeed, of any systematic defence of the place, until April 19th, 1643, when a proclamation was issued for the collecting of arms and material of war, swords, corslets, head-pieces, &c., to the end that the University and city might be better defended on the King's going to Reading with his army, which he suddenly intended to do. The works and fortifications, also, did now go on apace, and those in St. Clement's parish, on the east side of Oxford, were about this time begun; these, with other fortifications about the city, were mostly contrived by one Richard Rallingson, Bachelor of Arts of Queen's College, who also had drawn a mathematical scheme or plot of the garrison. His endeavours in this nature gave so great satisfaction to the King, that he forthwith sent letters on his behalf to the University to confer the degree of Master of Arts upon him, which letter being read in Convocation, Oct. 17th, he was then admitted Master of Arts. The words "letters on his behalf," are here significant, as it shows that it was simply a request from the King to the University of Oxford, which does not receive royal mandates as the University of Cambridge does.

On June 5th, the Vice-Chancellor was desired by the King to call the heads of houses together, and with their help severally, to take notice in writing of all scholars and others, lodging and residing in the colleges and halls, between sixteen and sixty years of age, to the end that they be required to work one day in the week, or for every default to pay 12d. a-day. The whole also were to be enrolled for the defence of the place.

The works went on through June, half the colleges and halls working Monday, and half on Tuesday, from six to eleven in the morning, and from one to six at night; and every person to bring his tools with him. The fortifications that they were to work at were drawn through that part of

Christ Church Mead, that is next to Grand Pont Street. Whether or not the sketch given of the lines round Oxford is a tracing plan of an original object not carried out, or an accurate drawing of lines that were made (which I believe to have been the case), cannot now be positively ascertained. It seems certain that, if it were the original intention, it was not immediately and fully acted on, but that the lines were of gradual growth, modified and improved from time to time, as would appear from a notice, that in September and October thoughts were entertained of new fortifying the city (the works that were made not giving satisfaction); an attempt was made to raise new sums of money for the purpose, which was, with some delay and difficulty, done; and, in May, 1644, the scholars were newly arranged in battalions with the city levies, under the Earl of Dover. On the 14th May, "the regiment of scholars and strangers, newly listed and raised, mustered in Magdalen College Grove, to the number of 630, or thereabouts, giving very great contentment to the spectators, in seeing so many young men so docile;" and they, from day to day, manœuvred before the King in Christ Church Mead, and on Bullingdon Green. And now in May, 1644, their prowess was tried for the first time. On the 29th, being the Eve of the Ascension, the Earl of Essex and Sir W. Waller, coming with their forces from Abingdon, over Sandford Ferry, and so through Cowley, and over Bullingdon Green (that they might go towards Islip), faced the city for several hours, whilst their carriages (ordnance) slipped away behind them. Wood says it gave some terror to Oxford, and therefore two prayers, by his Majesty's appointment, were made and published, one for the safety of his Majesty's person, the other for the preservation of the University and city, to be used in all churches and chapels in them. In the afternoon of the same day, the scholars and citizens made a head, and marched out of the works at St. Clement's, to see what they could do against the enemy's scouts that rode up and down. At length, meeting together, there was a skirmish between them, and two or three on each side slain or wounded; some of the Parliamentaries came in parties towards the works; but "whilst they were in that bravado, a shot was made by Sir John Haydon, from one of the great ordnance standing on the said bulwarks, which fell so happily amongst them (though at a great distance), that it

killed a trooper and hurt a horse, and put them into such a fright that they ran all presently towards their body, in great confusion and amazement."

In the year 1645, Sir Thomas Fairfax sat down before Oxford, for fifteen days, commencing May 22nd, and ending June 5th; he made his appearance first by some scattered horse near Cowley, May 19th, from thence they, with their horse and foot, passed over Bullington Green to Marston, showing themselves on Headington Hill.

May 22nd, he sat down before Oxford, and then began the siege, making a breastwork on the east side of Cherwell River, and a bridge over that part of the said river near Marston.

May 23rd, Godstow House was fired by the owner, David Walter, Esq., lest the enemy should make it a place of defence.

May 26th, Sir Thomas Fairfax put over four foot regiments and thirteen carriages, at the new bridge over the Cherwell River; he having his head quarters at Marston, Oliver Cromwell at Wytham, and Major Browne at Wolvercote.

May 27th, two regiments (the white and red), with two pieces of ordnance, marched over Isis at Godstow Bridge, and so by Botley to South Hinxsey; which party were continually playing on that in Sir Oliver Smyth's house (held by him of University college), standing without the south port, and continually guarded and relieved with soldiers out of Oxford garrison; but for the most part repelled with the loss of men and members. All this while the Governor of Oxford, Colonel W. Legge, seeing the Parliamenters quiet besiegers, and that they fought only with their perspective glasses, was resolved to quicken them, and therefore, June 2nd, about one o'clock in the morning, he went himself, with nearly 1000 horse and foot, towards Headington Hill, where the Parliamenters kept a strong guard, as well of horse as foot. While the Governor advanced up the hill, the Parliamenters vapoured and cried aloud, that "the Cavaliers did only flourish, and durst not come up to them," wherefore, fearing lest their stay would not be long there, he sent Colonel David Walter, Sir Thomas Gardiner, and Captain Grace, with parties of horse, to fetch a compass by St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and to leave the end of Cheyney Lane, next to Shotover, on the

left hand and, at a certain sign given, they were to set on them on their rear, when the Governor and his men were ready to do so on the fore part.

The sign being given, they fell on them so vigorously, that of 137 musketeers, which was the Parliamentary number, but one escaped. The horse also shamefully ran away, and left their foot to have been cut to pieces, had not the Governor ordered to give quarter.

They had for some hours before most insufferably railed against the King and Queen's majesty, which much incensed the Oxford horse. Of these Parliamenters fifty-two were killed (whereof seven were horsemen), with their captain, one Gibbons, and their lieutenant, a preaching silk-weaver. With these prisoners were taken thirty or forty cows, which the Parliamenters the same evening stole back again through the negligence of the guard ; but whilst they were in action, the garrison of Woodstock (which was for the King), came forth to visit them, took twelve prisoners, and killed a lieutenant-colonel of horse.

This sortie is the only thing worthy of note, connected with this attack on the city of Oxford. On the 6th of June, Fairfax endeavoured to storm Boarstall House, near Brill, but was courageously repelled by Sir W. Campion, the Governor, and the defendants of the place.

In July 1645, the fatal field of Naseby was fought in Leicestershire, where, after the King's defeat, almost all the cities, castles, towns, and forts that belonged to him, and stood out in his defence, were soon surrendered to the Parliament.

In the meantime, however, seeing that another and a stricter siege would follow, his Majesty issued proclamations for the collecting of provisions, which was done, and in the May following (1646), Fairfax, resolving to besiege it again, came out of the west of England, and on the 1st of May appeared before the city, where was Prince Rupert, Prince Maurice, and a great part of the nobility and gentry of England, the King having gone away in disguise about four days previously.

Charles had now in Oxford about 5000 regular troops, besides the regiments raised in the University and city, thirty-eight pieces of ordnance, whereof twenty-six were of brass, seventy barrels of powder in his magazine, and two

mills at Oseney, which brought in a daily supply of powder. The place was provisioned for six months, and although there is no doubt but that he must ultimately have surrendered, still a very good stand might have been made, and he might have obtained better terms for himself than were ultimately given.

However, on the 1st of May, Fairfax rendezvous'd between Abingdon and Garsington, and had his head-quarters that night at the latter place.

May 2nd. There was a general rendezvous of the army, horse and foot, on Bullingdon Green, and thence the forces were distributed to several quarters, viz., at Headington, Marston, and the towns thereabouts.

May 3rd. The general, with the officers of the army, took a survey of Oxford by perspectives (telescopes), and found the place to have received many alterations and additions of great advantage since last being there before it; and it was made incomparably more strong than ever, it being the King's head-quarters and garrison, and his chief place of residence and retreat. The situation, in reference to the ground it stood on, rendered it very apt for defence, being placed between the River Isis on the west, and the Cherwell on the east, both meeting on the south side; which rivers, especially the first, spreading themselves into several branches, which run through, and under some parts of the city, were so ordered, by locks and sluices placed upon them, that the city could be surrounded with waters (except the north parts) when the defendants pleased, and thereby make the place absolutely inapproachable. As for the said north, part of it was indifferently high in relation to the other ground, having so many strong bulwarks so regularly flanking one another thereon, that nothing could be more exactly done. Round about the line it was strongly pallisadoed, and without that again were digged several pits in the ground, that a single footman could not, without difficulty, approach the brink of the trench. Within the city was 5000 good foot, most of them of the king's old infantry, which had served him from the beginning of the wars, and they were well stored with a plentiful magazine of victuals, ammunition, and provisions for war. In a word, whatever art or industry could do to make a place impregnable, was very liberally bestowed here.

All this strength being apprehended and considered by Sir Thomas Fairfax, he concluded that this was no place to be taken at a running pull, but likely rather to prove a business of time, hazard, and industry.

Whereupon, at a council of war at Headington, it was resolved to fix their quarters. Their first to be upon Headington Hill, where was ordered to be made a very strong and great work, or intrenchment of capacity to receive and lodge 3000 men ; also that a bridge should be laid over the River Cherwell, close by Marston ; that another quarter should be established between Cherwell and Isis, that is, on the north side of the city, wherein it was intended that most of the foot should be lodged, that being all the ground they had to make an approach near the walls. These matters being resolved, were quickly despatched, even to admiration, and a line also began to be drawn from the great fort at Headington Hill straight to St. Bartholomew's common road, and from thence to Campus-pits, or thereabouts, all within cannon-shot : which being done, and the four quarters settled, and the small garrisons about Oxford blocked up, viz., Boar-stall House, Wallingford Castle, Farringdon, and Radcote, Sir Thomas Fairfax sent a summons to Sir Thomas Glenham, Governor of Oxford, requiring the surrender of that garrison.

In reply, Sir Thomas Glenham asked for safe conduct for two officers, who met Fairfax, and requested to be allowed to go to the King, saying, that on his signification of his pleasure they would return a positive answer to the general immediately. Fairfax strove to dissuade them, saying that they might not get such good terms at a later period ; but as the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, besides the Duke of York, were there, they delayed an answer till they could hear from the king. "Whereupon," as Wood says, "that what time would be lost in that way might be saved in the other, all things went on for the siege, the dispatch of the prince was hastened, and order was given for drawing up the batteries."

May 12th. Prince Rupert, and with him about 100 horse, went forth on the north side of Oxford towards Colonel Thomas Rainsborough's soldiers, to take the air only, as it was then said, being without boots. Towards them a party of the enemy marched up, and gave fire. In which skirmish, Prince Rupert had a shot in the right shoulder, but it pierced

no bone ; whereupon they retreated to Oxford, where all sorts of people were very much concerned ; that and the two following days were spent in consulting and advising.

On Thursday, May 14th, the governor, by direction of the lords, and others of his Majesty's privy council, in Oxford, sent a letter to Fairfax to make known his desire to treat by commissioners, which was accepted, and a council of war being called, it was concluded that Mr. Unton Croke's house, at Marston, should be the place, and on Monday following, the treaty to begin ; but, on the 16th, there was doubt among the lords, as to making such treaty without the assent of the King. On the 17th, a treaty was accepted on both sides, which Fairfax sent to the Parliament, that they might consider the terms demanded by the garrison. And Fairfax having waited for an intimation of their satisfaction, they afterwards returned them to him, telling him to do as he should think fit.

The general (Fairfax) sent fresh terms to the garrison on May 30th, whereupon, at the desire of the Oxonians, the treaty was renewed again, they being willing to treat upon the general's propositions, "submitting themselves to the fate of the kingdom, rather than in any way distrusting their own strength, or the garrison's tenableness."

A few days before the treaty ended, when the Oxonians perceived it was likely to succeed, they played their cannon day and night into the enemy's leaguers and quarters, discharging sometimes near 200 shot in a day (at random as it was conceived), rather to spend their powder than to do any execution ; however, they showed good skill in that they levelled their pieces so as they shot into the leaguer on Headington Hill, and there killed Lieutenant-Colonel Cotsworth, and likewise into the leaguer on Colonel Rainsborough's side, where they killed a sutler, and others in their tents. The enemy's cannon, in recompense, played fiercely upon the defendants, and much annoyed them in their works, houses, and cottages, till at last, a cessation of great shot was agreed to on both sides.

On Saturday, May 20th, the treaty for the surrender of Oxford was finished, and concluded upon twenty-six articles ; and on the 24th of June, the city was surrendered to the Parliamenters. The Royalists marched out through a guard of the enemy, extending from St. Clement's to Shotover Hill,

armed, with colours flying, and drums beating. Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice had left, with the people of quality, on the Monday and Tuesday.

It gave great discontent to the soldiers that the place should have been given up, and it seems extraordinary, and only to be explained as a consequence of the uncertain character of Charles, that having squandered the whole resources of the University and city for three years to fortify the place so completely, having lost almost everything else, having no one on whom he could depend, as he could on the tried loyalty of the University, he should have left the place to its fate; or (if that were not thought best) without, at least, insisting that all that had been done should not be utter waste of time and money, as it proved in the end. This was the more annoying to the troops, as there was every chance of their holding so strong a place for some time; and shortly after the place was surrendered, the weather seems to have become unfavourable, the meadows were flooded, and Fairfax's communication was cut off between Headington and the north side; he must, therefore, have given up one or other of his positions, probably the one on Headington, from whence he could annoy the town greatly, though he would hardly have assaulted the town by Magdalene bridge; he could only then have approached on the north side, between St. Giles' and Holywell churches, and the defence might have been confined to that side.

That Oxford should have been given up, instead of standing a siege, is now a matter for happy reflection, considering the state into which the University had fallen during the previous three years. It was exhausted in its finances, and Dr. Fell says,—“Wee now perceive what a miserable condition wee are like to be in concerning our rents; our tenants from all parts take strange advantages, and, complying with country committees (some of them being *in eadem navi*), seek to undoe the Universitie utterlie. Wee have not in public or private wherewithal to supply our necessary burdens.” And Wood adds,—“It was deprived of its number of sons, having few in respect of former times. Lectures and exercises for the most part ceased, the schools being employed as granaries for the garrison. Those few also that were remaining were, for the most part, especially such that were young, much debauched, and become idle by their keeping company with

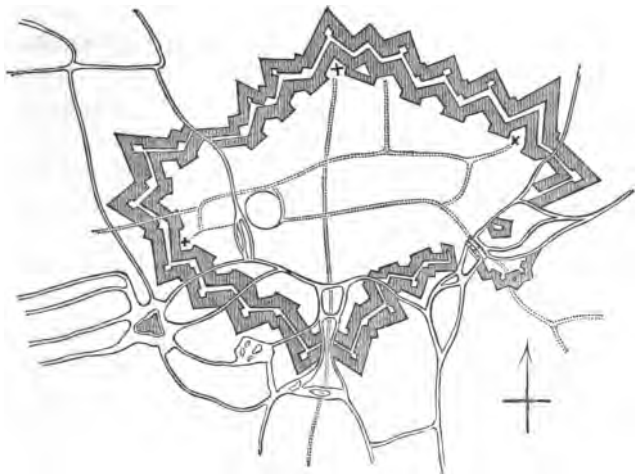
rude soldiers. Most of their precious time was lost by being upon the guard night after night, and by doing those duties that appertained to them as bearers of arms, and so, consequently, had opportunities as lay soldiers had, of gaming, drinking, swearing, &c., as notoriously appeared to the visitors that were sent by Parliament to reform the University. The truth is (I blame not all) that they were so guilty of these vices, that those that were looked upon as good witts and of great parts, on their first coming, were by strange inventions (not now to be named), to entice them to drinking and to be drunk, totally lost and rendered useless. I have had the opportunity (I cannot say happiness) to peruse several songs, ballads, and such like frivolous stuff, that were made by some of the more ingenious sort of them, while they kept guard at the Holly Bush and Angel, near Rewley, in the west suburbs; which even, though their humour and chiefest of their actions are in them described, yet I shall pass them by as very unworthy to be here, or in any part, mentioned.

“The colleges were much out of repair by the negligence of soldiers, courtiers, and others that lay in them, a few chambers that were the meanest (in some colleges none at all) being reserved for scholars’ use. Their treasures and plate were all gone, the books of some libraries embezzled. and the number of scholars few and mostly indigent. The halls (wherein as in some colleges beer was sold by the penny in the butteries) were very ruinous, occasioned through the same ways as the colleges were, and so they remained except Magdalen Hall and New Inn Hall (which were upon the surrender replenished with the Presbyterian faction) for several years after. Further, also, having few or none in them, except their respective principals and families, the chambers in them were, to prevent ruin and injuries of weather, rented out to laiks. In a word there was scarce the face of an University left, all things being out of order and disturbed.”

Such is the account that Anthony à Wood gives of the making of the lines round Oxford, and of the siege; it now becomes necessary to say something of the sketch of the fortifications and its probable authenticity.

In Skelton’s “*Oxonia Antiqua*,” a plate is given of the lines, this is called a “*fac simile* from Anthony à Wood;” in the edition of Anthony à Wood, as published by Gutch, it is

not to be found, nor could I discover any such sketch amongst the manuscripts, in the Bodleian Library.



Plan of the Lines around Oxford—Reduced from the plate in the *Historia Univ. Oxon.*

In looking at the above plan, there would appear to have been an entire *enceinte* of bastions (bulwarks) and curtains on a small scale, such as are given by engineers prior to Count Pagan's time, with distances, from 100 to 120 toises to be defended by harquebuses or muskets. Beyond this again there appears in the sketch, an entire *envelope*, something like that in later days suggested by Montalembert, and a second ditch. As early as Blondel's time counter-guards over the bulwarks had been suggested, and he himself proposed making such works continuous round the whole *enceinte*. Whether such works were anywhere actually constructed I cannot find. Now Wood only mentions one line (of bulwarks and curtains), and then one ditch, palisades, &c. He gave the name of Rallingson, of Queen's college, as the engineer who constructed them; and in Queen's College Library I hoped to find some original papers of Rallingson's connected with the siege, but I was disappointed. I found there, however a French manuscript, dated 1631, given to the Earl of March, by P. Jourdain, arithmetician, at Saumur, which contains the different systems of fortification then known in France, the Low Countries, Spain, and Italy. It is entitled, "*Extraites des œuvres de St. Gerard de Bas le*

Duc, Samuel Marollois de Praissac, et autres." From this very manuscript Rallingson may have traced his plan, as he has apparently followed the lines suggested by the Dutch system of Marolois. At Queen's College I examined the Latin translation of Wood's "*Antiquitates Universitatis*," in which I found the plan of the lines as shown by the accompanying woodcut. Mr. Skelton has copied them accurately, but has not made a *fac simile*; his plate being in a quarto volume, and the original in a folio, the plan being folded in the middle, and therefore the size of two folio pages. Finding the plan there and not in Gutch's Wood, or the manuscript, I looked for explanation, and found that the Latin translation differed considerably from the original English text of Wood; in fact, after the notice of Rallingson's plan for fortifying the place, there follows, in the Latin,—"*Hic de primis loquor munimentis, ea quæ postea extruebantur Bechmannum architectum habuere,*" without giving any clue as to who Bechman was. Remarking, however, Wood's own notice, that, after Fairfax's first attempt in 1645, Charles was not satisfied with the works, and after a time fresh ones were taken in hand, I think it very probable that a new suggestion was made by some one else, Bechman most likely, and that the *envelope* was actually executed, and not, as I originally supposed, that the plan might have been laid down by Rallingson, but that want of means and zeal prevented its being carried out. I am the more inclined to this opinion, as in comparing the passage in the Latin edition with Gutch's Wood, where the nature of the works is described, I find that the Latin translation varies from the English, and that, after the words, "from the North, &c." the Latin text is as follows:—

"Ab aquilone autem (ubi scilicet intumescit terra vel stagnantia recipit flumina), propugnacula comparabant frequentia tantâ in sui invicem defensionum arte constructa, ut validiora vix alibi in Angliâ compereris; in quibus perinde ac *interjecti muri Lorica* secundum extremos munitionum limites *duplici vallo* insultus hostiles arcebantur; extremum vero fossæ labrum, præterquam quod palis firmatum erat, invium reddebatur, accedentibus porro qui sparsim effodiebantur scrobiculis innumeris, adeo ut vix singuli pedites, absque summo discrimine, *ad valli marginem* appropinquarent. Ut autem ista melius intelligantur munimentorum iconographiam apponendum duximus."

The word *vallum* evidently here signifies a ditch or trench, because the foot soldiers are said not to be able to approach

“ad valli marginem,” and therefore the words “duplici vallo,” or double ditch, imply to my mind that the work was two-fold, *enceinte* and *envelope*; moreover, the introduction of the plate in 1674, shows that it was intended to represent the fortifications that were really made, not merely such as were suggested. The difference between the Latin translation and Wood’s own manuscript, appears to have arisen from the following cause: the Latin translation is not from Wood’s own pen, it was made by one Richard Peers, a student of Christ Church, who offended Anthony à Wood by permitting Dr. Fell to insert passages not in the original; but where one can detect no motive for alteration, save a regard for the preservation of facts, I am ready to receive and acknowledge him as worthy of credit, and believe the works at Oxford to have been such as are represented in the plan which he has given,—such as never before or since were constructed in England, or, as far as I am aware, in any other country.

GIBBS RIGAUD,

Capt. 60th Regt. Royal Rifles.

ON THE LATE, OR DEBASED, GOTHIC BUILDINGS OF OXFORD.

FROM THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH TO THE END OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

READ AT THE MEETING OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE AT OXFORD, JUNE, 1850.

GOthic Architecture seems to have attained its ultimate perfection in the fourteenth century, at which period everything belonging to it was conceived and executed in a free and bold spirit, all the forms were graceful and natural, and all the details of foliage and other sculptures were copied from living types, with a skill and truth of drawing which has never been surpassed. Conventional forms were in a great measure abandoned, and it seems to have been rightly and truly considered that the fittest monuments for the House of God were faithful copies of His works, and so long as this principle continued to be acted on, so long did Gothic Architecture remain pure. But in the succeeding century, under the later Henries and Edwards, a gradual decline took place, everything was moulded to suit a preconceived idea, the foliage lost its freshness, and was moulded into something of a rectangular form, the arches were depressed, the windows lowered, the flowing curves of the tracery converted into straight lines, panelling profusely used, and the square form everywhere introduced; until at length the prevalence of the horizontal line led easily and naturally to the *renaissance* of the classic styles, though in an impure and much degraded form. The mixture of the two styles first appears in the time of Henry VII., a period in which, (though remarkable for the beauty and delicacy of its details) the grand conceptions of form and proportion of the previous century seem to have been lost. Heaviness or clumsiness of form, combined with exquisite beauty of detail, are the characteristics of this era.

In the time of Henry VIII. the details also became debased, and there was a greater mixture of Italian work, but still the Gothic ideas predominated, and there are some good

examples of this date remaining, of which the Hall of Christ Church may be adduced as a proof.

In the reign of Elizabeth the mixture of the two styles was more complete, and though the details were frequently incongruous, there resulted from the union a style which when applied to domestic buildings was highly picturesque, and occasionally produced great richness of effect.¹

In the succeeding period the decline still continued, feature after feature was lost, until at length all was swallowed up by its rival. That feature, however, which was always the most important and most characteristic of Gothic Architecture, and on which at all periods the distinctions of the styles chiefly depended, namely, the window, was the last to depart, for when every other trace of the style was lost, we find the windows still retaining either their Gothic form or their Gothic tracery, and thus evincing the lingering love which was still felt for the ancient forms.

During all this period of decline however, frequent attempts were made to stay its progress, and in no place more successfully than in Oxford, as the number of buildings of this period will testify. To point out the peculiarities, and to give the most remarkable points of the history of these buildings will be the subject of the present paper, the historical facts of which are taken chiefly from Dr. Ingram's *Memorials of Oxford*, and from Anthony à Wood.

The first building of this period which claims attention is the Bodleian Library, and in order to understand the history of this it will be necessary to go a little further back. It seems that various donations of books had been made by different individuals in the 13th and 14th centuries, but that no proper depository had been provided for them, and that they remained either locked up in chests or chained to desks in the Old Congregation-house, and in the various chapels of St. Mary's Church, until a room or "solar" having been built for them by Bishop Cobham in 1320, over the Old Congregation-house, they were, after various disputes, removed there in 1409. It seems too that the University had at this time fallen into great irregularity, and suffered great in-

¹ A curious example of Elizabethan work occurs at Sunningwell Church within a few miles of Oxford, where there is a singular polygonal porch at the west end,

being a mixture of Ionic columns and Gothic windows. There is also some good woodwork of the same period. The church was chiefly rebuilt by Bishop Jewel.

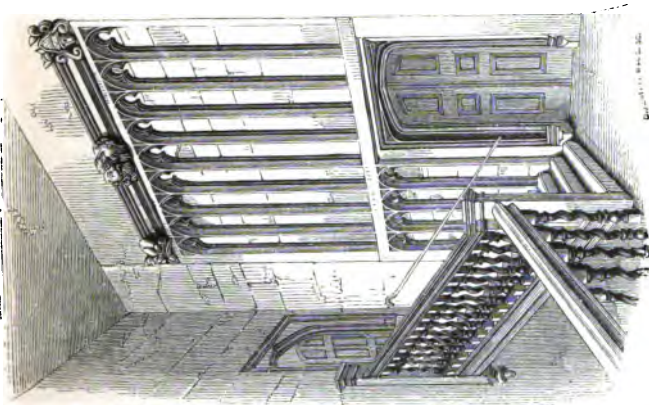
convenience from the want of public authorised schools ; the various professors using for that purpose apartments in private houses in various parts of the city. This led to the erection of a building for that purpose in 1439, and about the same time the University resolved to erect a separate School for Divinity, on a large scale in a central situation near the other schools. Liberal contributions having been made by various persons, and especially by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, son of Henry IV., they were enabled about the year 1480, not only to complete the Divinity School as it now stands, but to build the room over it for a library, and from the circumstance of the Duke being the principal donor both in his life-time and at his death, and of his bequeathing a number of valuable manuscripts, he is styled the founder, and the Library was called by his name. Into this library the books from St. Mary's were removed.²

The Divinity School yet remains in much the same state as when built, except that a doorway was made by Sir Christopher Wren, under one of the windows of the north side for the convenience of processions to the Theatre, and that at the east end the door-way has been altered externally. On examination it will be found that the outer mouldings have been cut down even with the wall, and from the marks on the wall it seems probable that there was a groined porch projecting in this direction, and that this was removed to make way for the covered walk, or Proscholium, when the Bodleian Library was built.

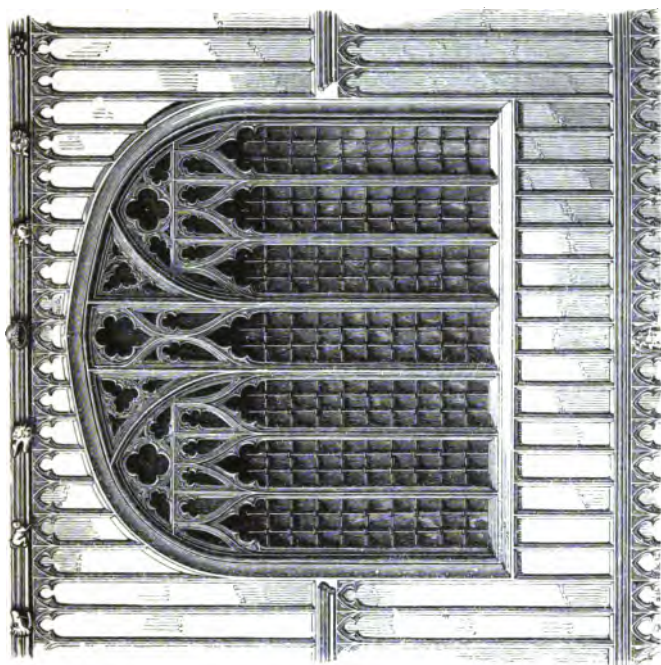
After the Reformation the schools appear for some years to have been almost deserted and in ruins, until, in the reign of Elizabeth, in the year 1597, Sir Thomas Bodley, a gentleman of a Devonshire family, who had been educated in the University, (and who had afterwards travelled through most parts of Europe, and been employed by Queen Elizabeth in many important matters,) resolved, as he tells us himself, to "set up his staff at the Library door at Oxford," and restore the place to the use of students. He commenced the same year the Restoration of Duke Humphrey's Library, which he repaired and refitted, and to which he added a new roof; and afterwards, in 1610, commenced building the Library

² The workmen employed were the same as were employed at Eton and Windsor under the direction of William of Waynfleet, and were called away from

here under a royal mandate, but were restored again in consequence of a petition from the University.



Entrance to the Library and Picture Gallery.
(Showing the junction of Bodley's work with that of the Schools.)



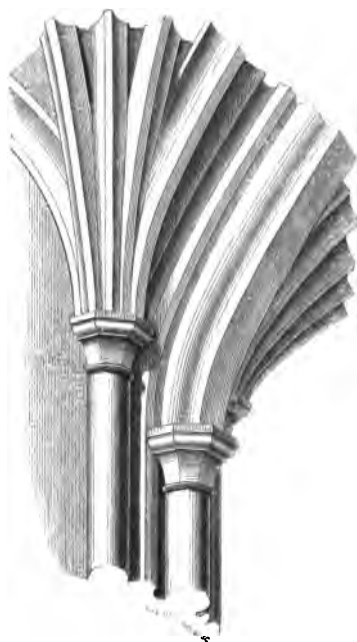
East Window.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY.





Bosses.



Impost.

DETAILS OF THE PROSCHOLIUM OF THE DIVINITY SCHOOL.

which now bears his name, but which he did not live to see finished.³ This new building he placed at the east end of, and transversely to, the Divinity School, the north-east and south-east buttresses being built into the new wall, and leaving in front of the east door the Proscholium or covered walk already mentioned, popularly known as the "Pig Market." Of this Wood says, "In which Ambulachrum do stand such that are candidates for, or sue after, their graces to the Regents sitting in the Congregation House adjoining." The reason of this being, that any requisite questions might be put to them previous to granting the degrees, a practice which was discontinued when the system of public examinations was introduced.⁴ It was necessary, therefore, in making the new building, to retain this space, and the present groined room was formed accordingly. It is lighted by a window at each end, one of which is not nor has ever been intended to be glazed. It has a vaulted ceiling, with bosses at the intersections, the alternate ones being shields with the arms of the founder.⁵ Some of the bosses are of good design and execution, but others are of late character. The general effect is good, but the details, particularly the mouldings, are of very debased character.

The buttresses of the Divinity School are panelled the greater part of their height, and one of these, as has been mentioned before, is built in, and forms part of Bodley's new wall, so that the panelling is visible on both sides, but on the east end it is carried forward on the face of the wall, as far as the point from which the porch seems to have projected; and it is tolerably evident, from the remains of the shafts which have been cut away, and from other marks on the wall, that this porch must have been groined. It seems

³ The architect employed was Thomas Holt of York, who was likewise employed over several of the other buildings in Oxford at the same period. He died in 1624, and was buried in Holywell Churchyard. The builders were first, J. Acroid, who died in 1613, and afterwards J. Bentley, who built likewise the new buildings of Merton, and M. Bentley, who died in 1618.

⁴ From this arose the popular but erroneous belief that the candidates were compelled to walk an hour in the Pig-market in order to allow the tradesmen to whom they were indebted to recognise

them and obtain payment of their debts, it being a rule that no candidate against whom an action for debt is pending in the University court, can receive a degree. But though the belief was not correct, it was until a comparatively recent period the custom for tradesmen to attend at those times for the purpose mentioned.

⁵ Quarterly, 1 and 4, Argent five martlets saltier-wise sable; on a chief azure, three ducal coronets, Or; a crescent for difference. *Bodley*. 2 and 3, Argent, two bars wavy, between three billets sable. *Hore*.

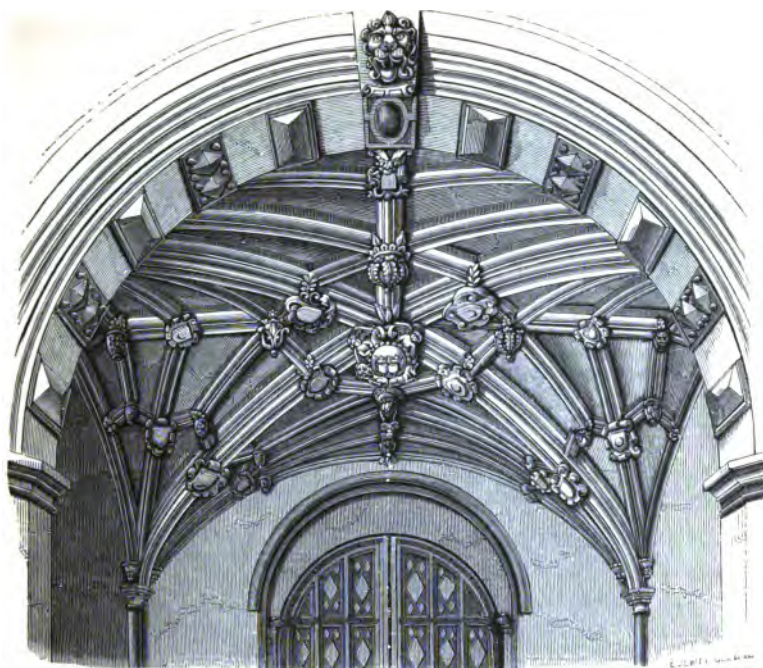
to have been the wish of Bodley to have his new building to agree in character with the old, and he therefore had the whole of his building panelled in the same manner as the Divinity School. This forms the west side of the School's Quadrangle,⁶ and is different in character from the rest of the buildings. The width of the quadrangle of the schools is greater than the length of the front of the Bodleian, and therefore a few feet had to be added at each end of Bodley's work. This may be seen inside these staircases, particularly between the entrances to the Bodleian and the Picture Gallery, where the old work is panelled, and has a corbel table the same as the rest of the front, but the new work is plain. The upper story of this building joins Duke Humphrey's Library, and is lighted by a large window at each end, and another opposite the old library. This window is a curious combination of mullions, transoms, and tracery of different forms. The rest of the windows are small.

Sir Thomas Bodley, shortly before his death, had conceived and matured the plan of a new building for the Public Schools of the University, and everything was settled for carrying the plan into execution, but he did not live to see it commenced. He died at his house in London in 1613, and was brought to Oxford, and buried in Merton College Chapel on the 29th of March in that year, and the day after the funeral the first stone of the new Schools was laid, the building of which occupied the next six years.

This building, which, with the Bodleian Library for its west side, forms a complete quadrangle, is plain, poor, and heavy in its general appearance, and little skill has been displayed in giving either variety of outline or of light and shade. This plainness is still further increased by the removal of the transoms with which the windows were originally furnished, and which are still retained in those in the tower. The Gateway Tower on the east side, which afforded an opportunity for this, is not distinguished by any projection from the flat wall, but merely rises above the parapet on the same plane. The oriel, too, over the doorway, which might have given effect, is tame and poor. The whole mass is square, without buttresses or any other projection to relieve

⁶ The two staircases were added afterwards, but were panelled to match the rest of the work. On the north end this panelling seems to have been subsequently

cut away, so that nothing but the small arches remain attached to the under side of the strings. In Williams's *Oxonia Depicta* it is shown completely panelled.



Groining.



Central Boss.

GATEWAY OF THE SCHOOLS.

it. In the inner front of the Tower, however, more pains have been taken ; the five stories into which it is divided are each ornamented with columns of one of the five classic orders, the plinths, friezes, and the shafts for a third of their length being covered with the peculiar Arabesque of the period, intermixed with the national emblems, &c. In the fourth story is a figure of James I., and the whole is surmounted with a parapet of open scroll-work enclosing the royal arms. These figures were originally gilt. Taken altogether this composition is a favourable specimen of the style of that time, though it does not harmonise with the Gothic turret and pinnacle which rise above it. The archway is groined, and is a curious example, the bosses being all more or less of Elizabethan design. The wooden door is panelled, the panels being filled with the arms of the various colleges as late as Wadham, that being then newly erected.⁷

An addition was made at the west end of the Divinity School, 1634 to 1640, the lower part of which is the Convocation House, and the upper part an addition to the library for containing the books of the learned Selden, and is called by his name.

The next building in order of time is Wadham College,

⁷ Anthony à Wood's description of this gateway is so good in its way, and harmonises so completely with his subject, that it is here given complete.

"But between the geometry and metaphysic, and astronomy and logic schools, is the chief entrance from Cat Street into this new fabric ; having over it an eminent and stately tower, wherein are contained, beside the vault or entrance, four rooms ; the first is the mathematical library for the use of the Savilian professors ; the second is part of the gallery ; the third, the muniments and registers of the university ; and the fourth, which is the uppermost, doth serve for astronomy uses. On the outside of the said tower, next to the area, or quadrangle, is beheld the rise of five stories of pillars (equal to every story of the tower), viz., of Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite work. Between the upper story of pillars saving one is the effigies of King James I. cut very curiously in stone, sitting on a throne, and giving with his right hand a book to the picture or emblem of Fame, with this inscription on the cover :

"HÆC HABEO QUÆ SCRIPSI.

"With his left hand he reacheth out

another book to our mother, the University of Oxford, represented in effigie, kneeling to the King, with this inscription on the cover also :

"HÆC HABEO QUÆ DEDI.

"On the verge of the canopy over the throne, and the King's head, which is also most admirably cut in stone, is his motto,

"BEATI PACIFICI.

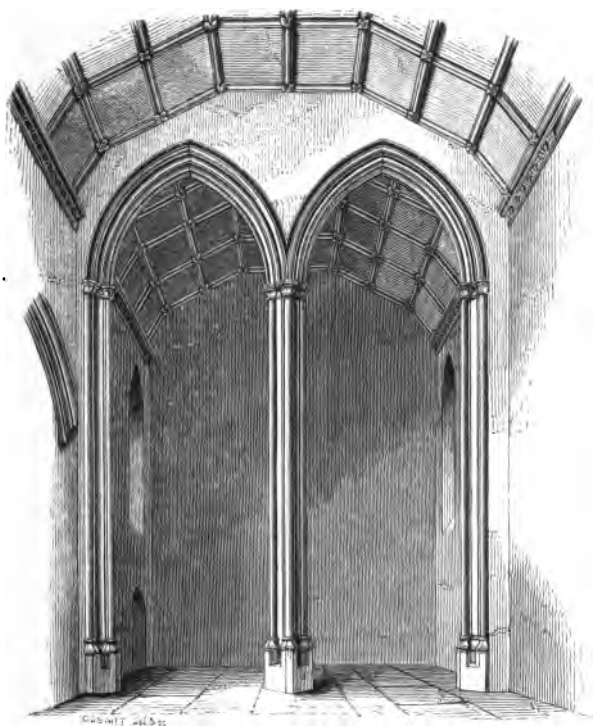
"Over that also are emblems of Justice, Peace and Plenty, and underneath all, this inscription in golden letters :

*"REGNANTE D. JACOBO REGUM DOCTISSIMO
MUNIFICENTISSIMO, OPTIMO, HÆ MUSIS
EXTRUCTÆ MOLES, CONGESTA BIBLIOTHECA,
ET QUÆCUNQUE ADHUC DEERANT AD SPLENDOREM
ACADEMIÆ FELICITER TENTATA,
CORPTA ABSOLUTA. SOLI DEO GLORIA.*

"All which Pictures and Emblems were at first with great cost and splendour double gilt ; but when K. James came from Woodstock to see this quadrangular pile, commanded them (being so glorious and splendid that none, especially when the sun shines, could behold them) to be whitened over, and adorned with ordinary colours, which hath since so continued." Vol. iii. p. 793.

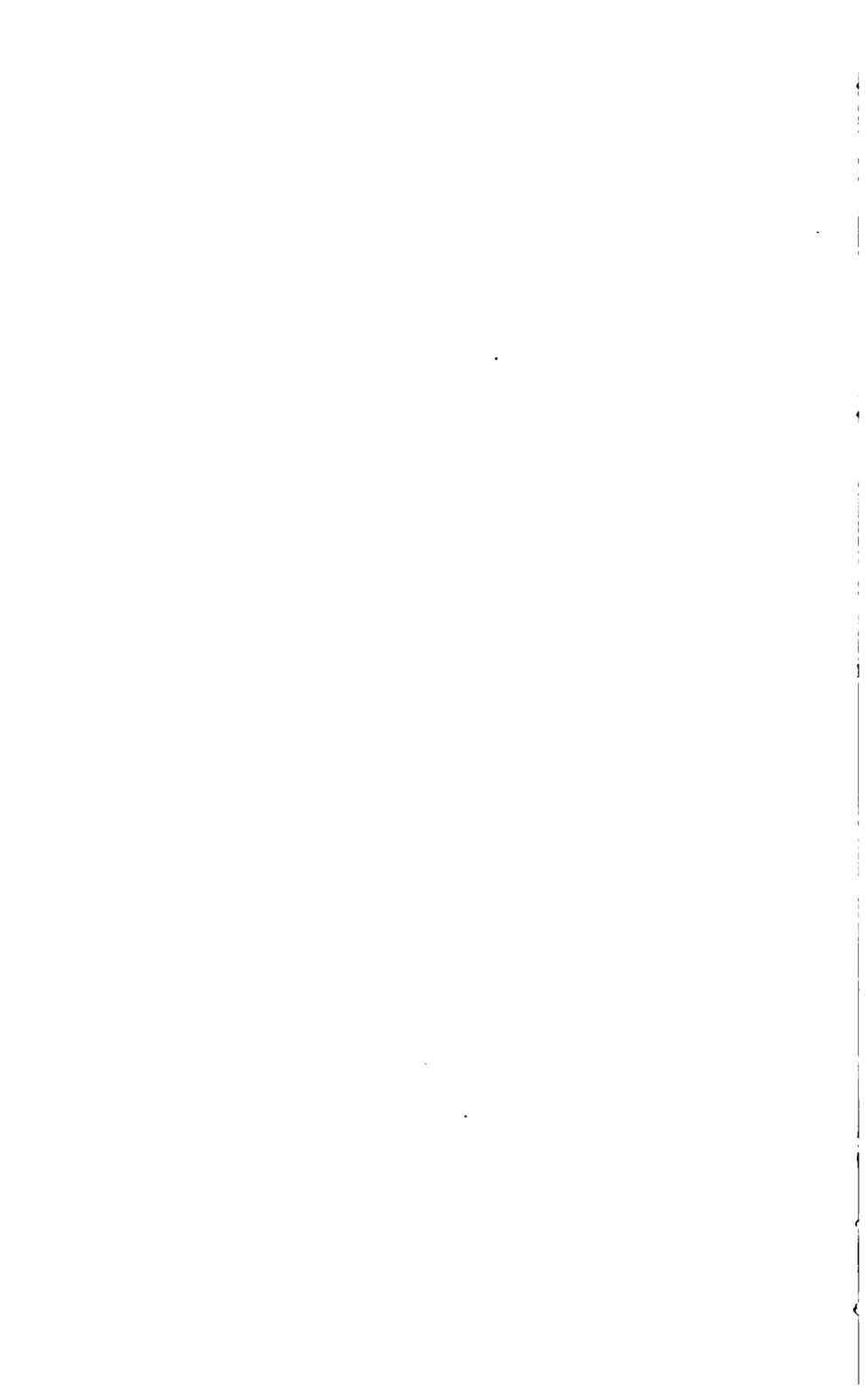
which was commenced in 1610, and completed in 1613, the year in which the Schools were commenced. It was founded by Sir Nicholas and Dame Dorothy Wadham, (whose effigies appear over the doorway of the hall,) but was not commenced till after the death of Sir Nicholas in 1609. The building was commenced in 1610, and the whole of the quadrangle, the hall and chapel, were completed in 1613.

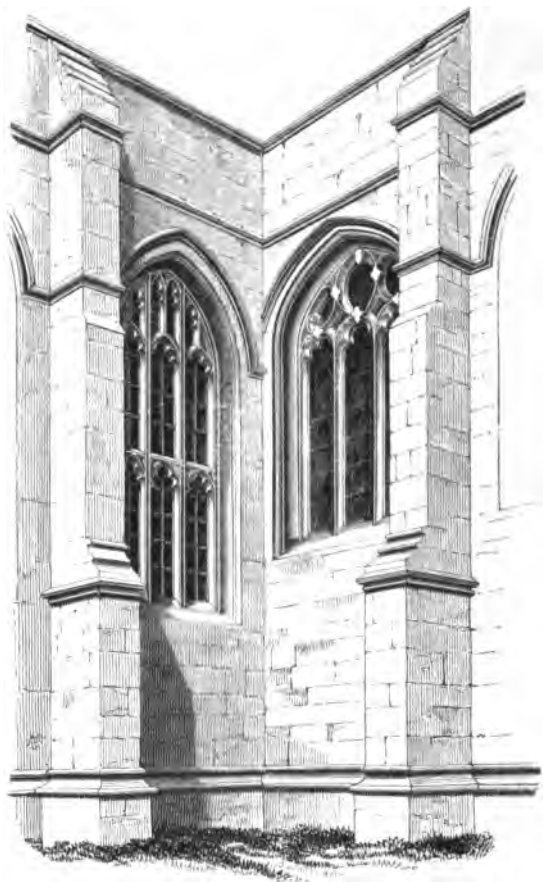
The general character of the buildings of the quadrangle is the same as that of the Schools, having a tower, gateway, and oriel window in the same situation, but the hall and ante-chapel are of somewhat different character, having debased tracery in the windows formed of scroll-work, and of which the large window of the hall is a very curious example. But the most singular part is the chapel, which is totally different in style from the rest of the buildings; the windows have good perpendicular tracery and mouldings, though of rather late character, and there is little to distinguish it from a pure perpendicular building except the upper mouldings of the buttresses. In the east window, however, there is a singularity in the subordination of the tracery which would not have occurred in the best period of perpendicular. The two mullions of the centre light are carried through the head and on each side in the sub-arches. The other two mullions are not carried through, but another rises from the second and fourth lights, cutting through the sub-arches, and by this means the primary tracery, not being equally distributed over the space, produces an awkward effect, though the window has evidently, but not skilfully, been copied from those of New College. The side windows are of three lights with transoms, and are good in all their details; and there are in the interior two lofty arches, which divide the ante-chapel from the transept, and which are of the same character, and are also an imitation of those in New College. The rest of the ante-chapel corresponds with the hall, so that it produces one uniform front towards the quadrangle. The character of this part is totally different to that of the chapel; and the contrast of the two (shown in the woodcut), is very striking. The tracery of the one is good perpendicular, but that of the other is of a kind unknown to Gothic. It is composed of scroll-work in elliptic forms, and with a kind of flat bosses at the intersections. The mouldings, too, are totally different, one not differing much from the usual



Arches of the Ante-Chapel.

WADHAM COLLEGE.





Windows of the Chapel and Ante-Chapel.

WADHAM COLLEGE.

section of a Perpendicular window, and the other nondescript, as will be seen from the sections.



Section of Window.
Chapel, Wadham College.



Section of Window.
Ante-Chapel, Wadham College.

These striking differences have naturally induced a belief that the chapel was either a prior erection, or that the old materials of the Augustine convent, on the site of which the college was built, had been used up again ; but by the investigations of the Rev. J. Griffith, whose valuable paper on the subject gives the accounts referred to, it is clearly shown that the building of the two parts was carried on simultaneously. The foundress seems to have had a proper idea that a building used for Divine service should have a different character from those which were intended for domestic uses, and therefore, as the regular masons at that period could not have been much used to church work, and as it is shown by the accounts⁸ that the masons employed were brought to Oxford from a distance, it seems probable that she brought, from her own county of Somerset, workmen who had been

⁸ In these accounts, (for an opportunity of examining which I am indebted to the Rev. J. Griffith, the Sub-Warden), the masons who worked the stone for building are called *Free masons*, or *Free-stone Masons* (which is probably the true meaning of the term), while the rest are merely called "labourers." The cost of each window, with the name of the workman, is put down separately, the price of a chapel window being 6*l.* while those of the hall, were 3*l.* 18*s.* each. It is curious, too, to find that the three statues over the entrance to the hall and chapel were cut by one of the free masons (William Blackshaw) employed on the other parts

of the building. For each statue he was paid the sum of 3*l.*

The following prices and terms also appear, and are curious and interesting.

Lodgement, 4*d.* per foot.

Window table, 4*d.* per foot.

Grass table, 4*d.* per foot.

Window lights, 3*s.* 4*d.* each.

Pillar stone, at 16*d.* per foot.

Cornish, 2*d.* per foot.

Gorgel table

Gargill

Gurgul

Gurgoll

Tun stone, or tun stuff } stones for

Tounel stones, or tunnel } chimney
stones } shafts, &c.

used to this kind of work. The churches of Somersetshire are mostly of rich and late Perpendicular character, and it is probable that the style might continue later there than in other places. It would, therefore, be a curious subject to inquire if any churches were built so late as that on which these masons might have been employed. The Hall of Wadham has an open timber roof, which is curious, as showing how, while the Gothic form was retained, the details were altered to suit the taste of the times. The large window is a remarkable example of Jacobean tracery. The entrance under the principal gateway is groined, with fan vaulting, having in the centre the arms of the founder and foundress impaled.

The buildings of this period in Oxford are very numerous; indeed there are few colleges which have not some additions of this time; but it will not be necessary to do much more than enumerate the most favourable examples, with their dates.

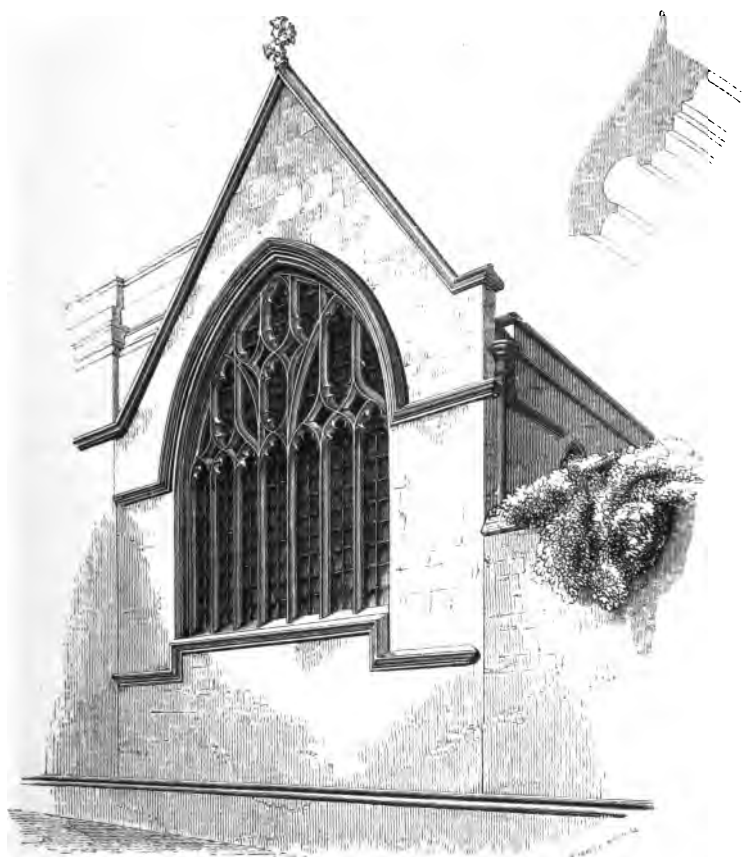
The inner quadrangle of Merton College is stated to have been built by J. Bentley, one of the builders of the Schools, and the gateway into the gardens is an evident imitation of that of the Schools. It has four of the orders, and the spaces between are filled with Gothic panelling, but the effect is poor and flat. The external front of this part, which faces Merton, is, however, a very good composition, and embowered as it is with trees, has quite the character of one of the fine old mansions of the Elizabethan or Jacobean period.

The Hall of Trinity College, built in 1618 to 1620, has good Perpendicular windows.

Jesus College Chapel, built in 1621, and the east window of the chapel, which was added in 1636, are much better than might have been expected at the period, but there is no subordination of tracery, which all springs from the same fillet.

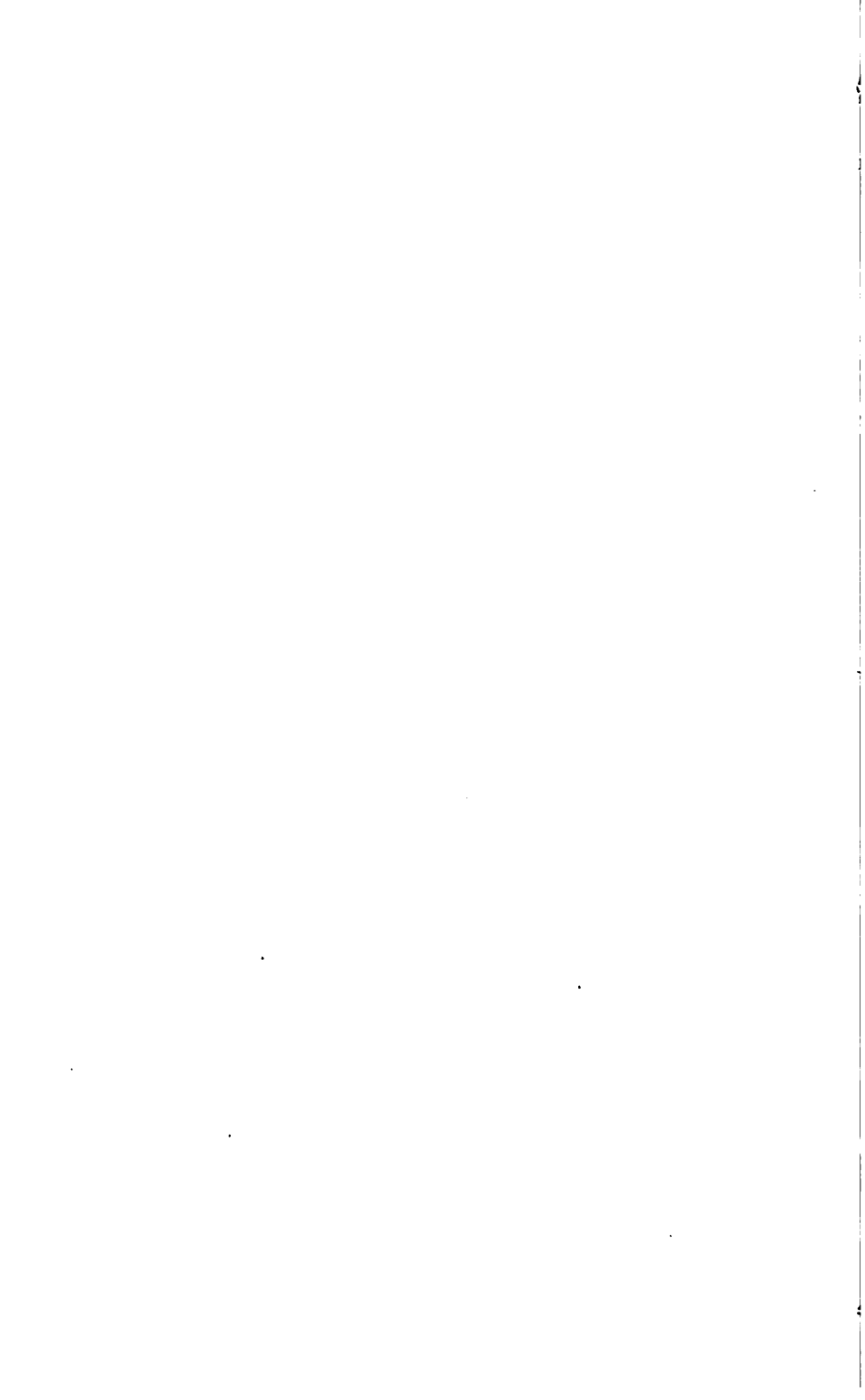
The Chapel of Exeter College, built in 1624, is a better specimen than the last. The tracery of the windows seems to have been copied from New College, and the subordination is preserved. The door, however, is completely of Jacobean character.

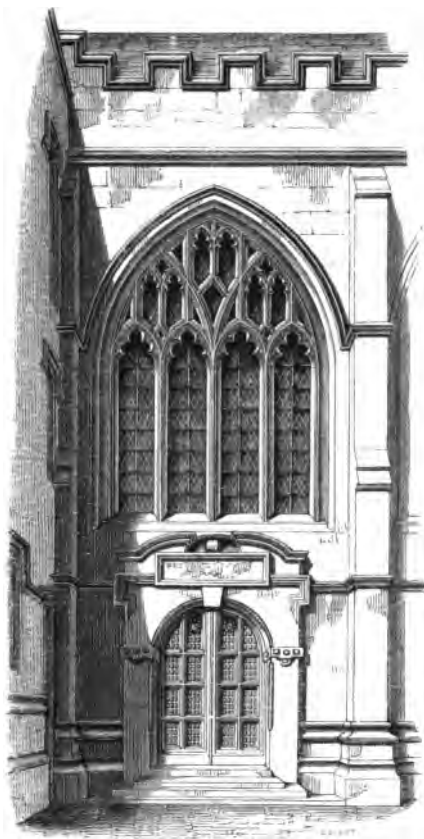
The second quadrangle of St. John's, which was built by Archbishop Laud between 1631 and 1636, is remarkable, and different from anything else in Oxford. It is by Inigo



East Window.

JESUS COLLEGE.



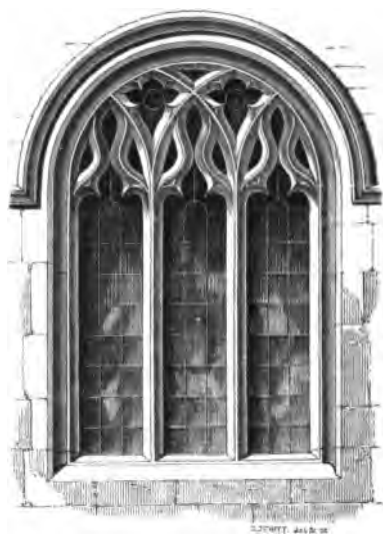


Entrance to the Chapel.

EXETER COLLEGE.



East Window.



Side Window.

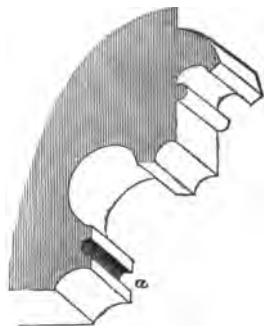
ST. MARY HALL.

Jones, and the effect of the garden front is highly picturesque, and the combination of the Gothic forms with Elizabethan details skilfully managed. This mixture of styles, though it will not bear examination in detail, produces in the mass an effect highly pleasing; and harmonising so well as it does with the foliage by which it is surrounded, it seems well suited for the purpose for which it is here employed. The quadrangle is on two sides supported on Doric columns and arches, the spandrels of which are filled with heads, and with emblems of the sciences and of the moral virtues.

The Hall and Chapel of St. Mary Hall were built between the years 1632 and 1644. The arrangement is curious and unusual, the hall occupying the lower story, and the chapel the upper. The windows of the hall are squareheaded, but those of the chapel on the north and south sides are round-headed, with intersecting tracery. The filling up of the heads of the lights is singular. The tracery, which assumes something of a Flamboyant form, springs from the chamfer in the manner of a cusp, and its fillets do not touch in the middle. The east window is pointed, and of five lights, with a mixture of intersecting and Perpendicular tracery, the whole exhibiting a good example of that commingling of preceding styles which is so frequently found in late Gothic structures.

The Chapel of Lincoln College was built in 1631, and is one of the best examples of the period, the subordination of the tracery is preserved, and the mouldings are good, except one peculiarity, which seems to belong to this period, as it is found likewise at Oriel and other places. This is,—the fillet is left broad, and is grooved down the centre with a rather deep channel. This has the effect of dividing the fillet into two lines, and produces a clumsy appearance.

Oriel College was built about 1620, but the Hall and Chapel were begun in 1637, and finished in 1642. The character of the building is poor and clumsy. The tracery is of very late character, and it has the grooved fillet above-mentioned.



Section of Window.
Lincoln College Chapel.
a. Grooved Fillet.

The entrance to the

chapel is under a bay-window, which has an open parapet of scroll-work.

The windows of the Hall and Chapel of University College, which were built about 1640, are much like those of Oriel. The east window of the chapel is particularly bad. Both colleges are built with fractable gablets.

In the Chapel of Brazenose College, which was built between 1656 and 1666, all traces of Gothic, except the windows and roof, seem to have vanished. The exterior is Corinthian, with pointed windows inserted between the pilasters. The tracery is of rather early form, and the whole is a very incongruous mixture. In the east and west windows even the tracery is altered, and the oval form introduced, so that this may be taken as one of the last and most curious examples of the decline of Gothic before its extinction. The roof of the chapel, which is a kind of hammer beam with fan vaulting above, was brought from the chapel of St. Mary's College, which formerly stood in the Corn Market, and which was founded by Henry VI. in 1435. This kind of vaulting seems to have retained its hold longer than any other feature of the Gothic styles, unless it be the windows. It is extensively used in Oxford under gateways and other small spaces, as at Wadham, University, St. John's, &c., but the finest specimen of it is the beautiful staircase to the Hall of Christ Church; and it is remarkable to find that it was erected so late as 1640; but it is stated by Peshall to have been built by Dean Fell, "by the help of — Smith, an artificer of London." Who Smith of London may have been, or whether he executed any other works beside this, does not seem to have been ascertained; but certainly this work alone, executed at a time when Gothic architecture everywhere else was sunk in utter debasement, ought to rescue his name from oblivion. Its chief fault is a want of boldness in the ribs, but this flatness was a fault of the time, which he did not overcome.

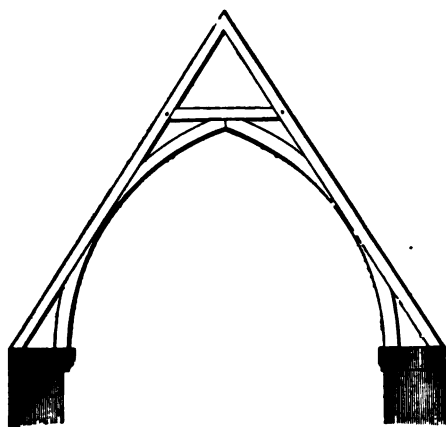
It has been generally considered that the whole of the work outside of the Hall was of this date, but it will be evident on examination that the two open doorways opposite the Hall-door, as well as the arches and doorways under the landing, are of Wolsey's time; all the details and the boldness of the work show them to belong to his building. The parts, therefore, which Smith executed were the central

pillar, and the vaulting which it supports, the steps, and parapets. This part, it seems, was left unfinished by Wolsey. The steps were not completed, and it was not roofed. It is, therefore, possible, as this design harmonises so well with the rest of the building, that the original drawings might have been preserved, and the present staircase built from them ; but whoever was the designer, it stands as one of the most beautiful things in Oxford, and one which no visitor should omit seeing.

The buildings hitherto described or mentioned are all in Oxford, but there is another in its immediate neighbourhood which is worth notice ; this is Water Eaton, a house which appears to have been built in the beginning of James I.'s reign, and to have been the residence of Lord Lovelace. It is now a farm-house, but remains in a perfect and almost unaltered state. The house has transomed windows and a projecting porch, ornamented with pillars and pilasters. It has a large court-yard, with a detached building for offices on each side of the gateway in front. On the north side of the court-yard is the chapel, having a yard on the south side. It is this building which is remarkable, as it remains almost in the same state as when built, the screen, pulpit, and open seats being the same as when first put in, and the building, though late, has scarcely any mixture of the later style.

The plan consists of a nave and chancel, divided by a chancel arch and screen, and having diagonal buttresses at all the angles. There are no windows on the north side, but on the south the nave has two, and the chancel one, and there are an east and west window, and a door on the south side. The doorway is pointed under a square label. The arches of the windows are much depressed, but slightly pointed ; the lights are foliated and carried up to the head without tracery. The east window has five lights, and the others three lights each. The mouldings are of late character, but not debased. The bell-cot and cross are modern. The interior is very plain ; the chancel arch is semicircular, without mouldings, but has a screen closed with doors ; this is in the taste of the times, and is formed of semicircular arches, supported by small pillars, the whole carved with Elizabethan ornaments. The pulpit is a good specimen of this same style. The standards of the open seats are, as is usual at

this period, rude, clumsy, and massive, the poppies being in imitation of the more ancient fleur-de-lis. The roof is a



Roof of Chapel, Water Eaton.

copy of an early form, and consists of principals, collar and curved braces, very plain and simple, but producing a good effect.

This building is interesting from showing that here, as at Wadham College before mentioned, though the house was built in the revived manner, it was still thought necessary to

keep the chapel in the old style, that being considered even then as exclusively ecclesiastical.

In the foregoing remarks, though very imperfectly executed, it has been intended to show by the buildings of Oxford, not only the gradual decline of Gothic architecture, but also the attempts, more or less successful, which were made from time to time to stay its progress. It was, however, for a time doomed to perish, and no efforts could save it. In the buildings of the period following that which has here been spoken of, it is either wholly laid aside, or the only remains of it are to be found in the accidental insertion, as it were, of a traceried window or a pointed door, as if to show that some faint recollections of the once-honoured forms still lingered in the minds of the architects, and caused them involuntarily to record their respect for it.

It would be an interesting investigation to trace the gradual awakening of the style from the deep slumber into which it had fallen, and to trace its gradual unfolding, step by step, until we have at length a more glorious *renaissance* of the Gothic styles than we ever had of the Classic, and in this history no mean place would be assigned to the Architectural Society of Oxford.

O. JEWITT.

The following list will form an useful appendix to the foregoing :—

LATE GOTHIC BUILDINGS IN OXFORD, FROM THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH
TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

- ELIZ. 1571. The old buildings of Jesus College commenced.
1596. Library, St. John's College built.
1597. Sir Thomas Bodley commenced the repairs of Duke Humphrey's Library, and added the new roof.
1600. Front of St. Alban Hall built.
1602. Nov. 8. Duke Humphrey's Library publicly re-opened after the repairs.
- JAS. I. 1610. July 16. First stone of the Bodleian Library and Proscholium laid.
1610. Great or main quadrangle of Merton built.
1610. July 31. First stone of Wadham College laid.
1612. West side of the lesser quadrangle of Lincoln College built.
1613. March 30. First stone of the Schools laid.
1613. April 20. Wadham College opened.
1617. Hall of Jesus College built.
1620. Hall of Trinity College finished.
1621. May 28. Chapel of Jesus College consecrated.
1624. Chapel of Exeter College built.
- CH. I. 1626. Library of Jesus College built.
1628. Front of the house in St. Aldates, known as "Bishop King's House," built.
1630. Staircase of Christ Church Hall built.
1631. July 26. First stone of the Garden front and lesser quadrangle of St. John's College laid.
1631. Sept. 15. Chapel of Lincoln College consecrated.
1634. West side of University College built.
1635. West side of St. Edmund Hall built.
1635. June 19. Front of University College commenced.
1637. Oriel College quadrangle and hall built.
1639. Chapel of University commenced ; finished in 1665.
1639—40. St. Mary Hall Chapel and Hall built.
1640. Hall of University College commenced. Finished in 1657.
1642. June or July. Oriel College Chapel consecrated.
1656. June 26. Chapel of Brazenose College, first stone laid ; finished in 1666.
1663. Library of Brazenose College opened.
1665. March 30. Chapel of University College consecrated.
1666. Nov. 17. Chapel of Brazenose College consecrated.
1669. Library of University College opened.

ON THE DESCENT OF THE EARLDOM OF OXFORD.

READ IN THE HISTORICAL SECTION AT OXFORD, JUNE 21, 1850.

THE Earldom of Oxford is remarkable, beyond other English Earldoms, for the length of time that it continued in one family. For a period of more than five centuries and a half it was held, in male succession, by twenty Earls of the illustrious race of Vere. It presents, in this respect, a direct contrast to the Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury, whose history I have endeavoured to elucidate at previous meetings of the Institute, which were repeatedly subject to the inheritance of females ; and, as my aim in these papers is rather to illustrate the nature and descent of the ancient dignity of an Earl in England, than to enter into the wide field of biography, (which, in this case, would occupy a large volume,) I have comparatively little to say upon the present subject. I shall, however, be able to remove the obscurity which Sir William Dugdale left resting on the origin of this Earldom ; and I have also to point out that the right of inheritance to the dignity was limited to heirs male, and consequently altered from its original character, by the special provision of an Act of Parliament, which passed for its restoration after attainder, in the reign of Richard II.

There was no Earl of Oxford until the reign of King Henry the Second. The circumstance of a person styled Earl Aubrey—*Albericus comes*, occurring in Domesday Book, combining with the fact that the first two Earls of Oxford bore the same name, and also their forefathers for two preceding generations, has suggested the supposition of an earlier origin of this dignity ; but the distinction between the *comes Albericus* of Domesday and Albericus de Ver is clearly marked in this respect : the former had forfeited his lands before the period of the survey, they were then in the King's hands, and they never belonged in after times to the Earls of Oxford ; but those manors which belonged, at the survey, to Albericus de Ver, descended in due succession to the Earls his posterity. The family of the *comes Albericus* of the Conqueror's days has not been discovered : but there can be no doubt that he was really the Earl of Northum-

berland of whom it is related, by Simeon of Durham, that he received that honour after the slaughter of bishop Walcher, which occurred in 1080 ; but, having little success in the difficulties which beset his position, he deserted his charge, and went home to his own country—that is, to Normandy ; after which the Conqueror appointed Robert de Mowbray in his room.¹

Albericus de Vere, the first of his name in England, came also from Normandy.² He held in chief, at the Domesday survey, lands in the counties of Middlesex, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Essex, and Suffolk. Among these was Kensington in the first mentioned county, in after ages the residence of our kings, the church of which he gave to the abbey of Abingdon, whence arose the name of St. Mary Abbat's, still attached to the church of Kensington. He also had Colne in Essex, since called Earl's Colne, where the Earls were customarily buried in a priory of their own foundation ; and Hedingham, in the same county, where they erected their magnificent Norman castle.

The second Aubrey de Vere, son of the former, made an illustrious alliance by marrying Adeliza, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford ; and, in the year 1106, king Henry the First made him his chamberlain in the room of Robert Malet, lord of Eye in Suffolk, then recently slain in rebellion.³

It was Aubrey de Vere, the third after the Conquest of England, who became the first Earl of Oxford. But his elevation to the dignity of a *comte* was originally the result of his marriage, and this is one of the circumstances that have confused the old accounts of this Earldom ; for Dugdale erroneously attributed that marriage to his grandfather,

¹ This important contribution to the right understanding of the Domesday Survey, was first pointed out by Mr. Baker, in the "History of Northamptonshire," vol. i. p. 561. The Domesday student will do well to note it in his copy of the Introduction by Sir Henry Ellis, who was not aware of it. Mr. Baker further remarks that Sir William Dugdale (Baronage, i. 188) was incorrect in his supposition that this Earl Alberic was an Englishman, having misunderstood the entry under Wiltshire which led to that conclusion ; and that the historian of Leicestershire has adopted the same

erroneous interpretation of the statements of the survey,—the fact being that the tenure of the Earl was then spoken of in the past tense, because his lands were actually forfeited. In his "History of Warwickshire," Dugdale has uniformly misrepresented this Earl as progenitor of the Earls of Oxford.

² Simeon Dunelm. edit. Twysden, col. 205.

³ Robert Malet was slain at the battle of Tenerchebrai, fighting on the side of Duke Robert Courtehoise, against his father King Henry, on the 27th Sept. 1106.

the Domesday Aubrey.⁴ We owe to that accomplished genealogist, our late valuable and much lamented member, Mr. Stapleton, the information which has set us right upon this point; and which he made known in his memoir on the Barony of William of Arques, in the county of Kent, which was read at our first Archæological meeting at Canterbury, and afterwards printed in the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries.⁵

William of Arques, the Domesday lord of Folkstone, left two daughters his coheiresses, of whom Emma the younger was married, first to Nigel de Monville, and secondly to Manasses comte of Guisnes in Flanders. By the latter alone she had issue, and that an only daughter named Rosa, otherwise Sibilla, who, having been married to Henry castellan of Bourbourg, died in her father's lifetime, leaving again a single female heiress, named Beatrice. It was this Beatrice who was destined to convey the dignity of a *comte* to the man who might win her in marriage. Her grandmother, Emma, was still living, and it was by her advice, being an English woman, that a husband was selected in the English court for the future comtesse of Guisnes. The nobleman of her choice was Aubrey de Vere, son of Aubrey the king's chamberlain.⁶

The marriage of Beatrice is said to have been hastened because she was in precarious health, and lest, in case of her death without issue, the *comté* of Guisnes should revert to the next heir, by name Arnold de Gand. The comte Manasses died in the year 1137; whereupon Henry de Bourbourg, the father of the young heiress, dispatched a message to his son-in-law, Aubrey de Vere, requiring him to come immediately to take possession of the county of Guisnes, and obtain investiture from his

⁴ Probably Ver in the Bessin, not Vire, of which Hugh Earl of Chester was castellan in the reign of William the Conqueror. See Stapleton's Rolls of the Norman Exchequer, vol. i. pp. lxxx., cliii., vol. ii. p. clvii.

⁵ Vol. xxxi. pp. 216—257.

⁶ Leland has a fabulous pedigree: "Ex libello genealogiæ Comitum Oxoniensium," tracing the Veres in a male line of Erles of Genney, alias Gisleney, from Milo Duke of Angiers, living in the year 800. This is founded, of course, on the connection

with the Comte of Guisnes, which is related in the text. After a string of princely alliances, it terminates with a fictitious marriage between Alberic de Ver Erle of Genney, who came over at the Conquest, and Beatrice a sister of the Conqueror. It is to be regretted that Arthur Collins, in his "Historical Collections on the noble families of Cavendish, Holles, Vere, Harley, and Ogle," fol. 1752, has given some credence to this forgery. The memoirs of the house of Vere in that work occupy pp. 214—243.

suzerain the earl of Flanders. Aubrey, though then, it is said, honourably engaged in the service of King Stephen, forthwith obeyed the summons, and from that time became entitled to the style of *comte*.

However, it is further related, by the same chronicler,⁷ that he preferred a residence at the English court to the requisite superintendence of his matrimonial domains. His wife was in too delicate a state of health to enjoy his society; and in consequence, though continually sent for by his father-in-law, he obstinately prolonged his absence, until the patience of his barons was fairly exhausted. The result was one of those petty intestine wars which were then so frequent; and it was carried on for some time in the unhappy *comté* of Guisnes with various success. On one side were ranged the *comté's* bailiff, Arnold of Hammes, and the father of the *comtesse*, Henry castellan of Bourbourg. Arnold de Gand, the pretender to the *comté*, headed the insurgent party, and one of his chief supporters was Baldwin lord of Ardres. This Baldwin, being severely wounded, sought comfort in his sickness in the counsels of the abbot of la Chapelle Thierry, and, at his instigation, he withdrew from the cause of Arnold de Gand. In brief, it was concluded that Baldwin of Ardres would make a better sovereign for the men of Guisnes than either Arnold or the Englishman whom they never saw. Aubrey de Vere, on his part, seems to have been readily persuaded to relinquish so troublesome and unpromising an alliance. He assented to a divorce. The wishes of Baldwin of Ardres were accomplished; he was married to the *comtesse* Beatrice; but she survived for only a few days, and finally Arnold de Gand succeeded to the *comté* in peace.

These events took place about the year 1144. It was consequently for about seven years that Aubrey de Vere was *comte* of Guisnes. There are several English charters extant in which he uses the title of *comte*; and one to the monastery of Hatfield, in Essex, is particularly remarkable, as proving that he did so whilst his father was living. He styles himself therein *Albericus comes, filius Alberici de Ver*, and his father is the first of the witnesses.⁸ His father, the king's chamberlain, was slain in London, during a riot of the citizens, on the 15th of May, 1140.

⁷ Lambert d'Ardres.

⁸ Morant's Essex, ii. 506.

Such were the circumstances under which the dignity of *comte* first accrued to Aubrey de Vere. His apparent apathy in relinquishing it is explained by what was going on at the time in his own country. He had become one of the most active partisans of the empress Matilda in her claim to the English crown : and had received from her the promise of an English earldom. By a charter made after Milo of Gloucester had been created earl of Hereford at Oxford on the 25th July, 1141, and before the siege of Winchester in the following month, and which, from its being dated at Oxford, (though without date of the year) was probably contemporaneous with the former event, Matilda granted to him all the land of William de Abrincis, together with all the inheritance he claimed on the part of his wife, as the heiress of William of Arques ; also the town and castle of Colchester, so soon as it should be in her power to deliver it : and further, the reversion of the Earldom of Cambridgeshire and the third penny thereof, as an Earl ought to have, provided the king of Scots had it not ; but, in that case, the said Aubrey was to have the choice of four earldoms, namely, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, according to the decision of her brother the earl of Gloucester, earl Geoffrey (the earl of Essex), and earl Gilbert (the earl of Pembroke).

The political influence of earl Aubrey is further shown by the fact, that at the same time the empress gave baronies to his brothers Geoffrey and Robert, and promised the chancellorship of England to his brother William de Vere.

King Henry the Second, when he came to the throne in the year 1155, though he preferred Becket for chancellor, fulfilled the agreement made for an earldom with Aubrey de Vere. The earldom given him was that of Oxford, of which he was confirmed Earl by a grant of the third penny of the pleas of the county.⁹

⁹ The charter of the creation was transcribed by Selden, from the original which he had seen among the evidences of the Earls of Oxford, as follows :—

H. Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ et Aquitaniæ et Comes Andagaviæ, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, justiciariis, vicecomitibus, ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Franciæ et Angliæ salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse Comiti Alberico in

feodo et hereditate tertium denarium de placitis comitatus Oxenfordacyre ut sit inde Comes. Quare volo et firmiter præcipio quod ipse et heredes sui habeant inde comitatum suum ita libere et quiete et honorifice sicut aliquis Comitum Angliæ liberius et quietius et honorificentius habet. Testibus T. cancellario, Hugone comite de Norff', Rogero comite de Clare, comite Patricio, Ricardo filio Gisleberti, Henrico de Essex constabulario, Richardo de

It is remarkable, however, that the Earls of Oxford never possessed lands in Oxfordshire. Essex was always their principal county ; and Aubrey, the second Earl, was sheriff of the counties of Essex and Hertford from the tenth to the fifteenth years of king John.

The first earl of Oxford enjoyed his dignity for a period of nearly forty years. He died in 1194, and was followed in succession by his two sons, Aubrey and Robert, the former of whom gave king John, in his sixth year, a fine of two hundred marks to be confirmed in this earldom, and in the receipt of the third penny.¹ After these brothers, six more generations carry us down to Robert, the ninth earl and fourth of his name, who is celebrated in history for the extraordinary honours which were lavished upon him by king Richard the Second.

Having been left an orphan at an early age, his wardship was given, by king Edward III., to his son-in-law Ingelram de Courcy, earl of Bedford ; and, according to the ordinary practice in such cases, that nobleman destined the young earl's marriage as a provision for the establishment of his own daughter, Philippa de Courcy. Having thus become the husband of king Richard's cousin-german, the earl of Oxford was placed in a position of family relationship towards his sovereign, which, added to his own rank and a parity of years, might at first appear to justify a familiarity which was gradually carried beyond all the bounds of propriety and decency. On the 1st Dec., 1385, to distinguish his favourite beyond all his peers, Richard introduced into this country the hitherto unknown title of Marquess, advancing the earl of Oxford to the dignity of Marquess of Dublin, with no less an appanage than the whole territory and lordship of Ireland.² About the same time he was elected into the order of the Garter. But these favours still fell short of his fond master's estimate of his deserts. The patent of the Marquisate was therefore recalled, and, on the 13th October following, the lordship of Ireland was erected into a Dukedom, and, with the adjacent islands and all other dependencies, transferred

Humet constabulario, Richardo de Lucy, Waltero filio Roberti, M. Biscet dapifero, Warino filio Geraldii camerario, Richardo de Canvilla, Willielmo de Lanvall, Hammone Peccato, apud Dour' in transitu

Regis. Selden's "Titles of Honour."

¹ Rot. Pip. Essex.

² Pat. 9 Ric. II. p. 2, m. 18.; Rot. Parl. iii. 209.

to Robert de Vere upon his liege homage only.³ To do him further honour, permission was granted to him to bear as his arms, so long as he should live and hold the said lordship, these arms, viz.—Azure, three golden crowns within a bordure,⁴ which he was authorised to bear, quartering the arms of Vere, in all shields, banners, penons, coats of arms, and all other his equipments which were capable of being adorned with cognizances of arms, wherever he chose to display them, either in actions of war or elsewhere. But, after this extravagant exaltation, the favourite's career was brief. He was attainted by parliament in the year 1388; and, whilst in exile at Louvaine, was killed by a wild boar when hunting, on the 22nd November, 1392. He died without issue.⁵

His uncle Aubrey de Vere was his heir; and in the parliament held at Winchester, in January following, he was, for the good service done to the king and his father, restored to the estates of his family, and to the dignity of Earl of Oxford, with remainder to his heirs male for ever.⁶ Whereupon the said earl did his homage to the king, and then was put and sat with his peers in parliament, "right humbly thanking our lord the king for his good and gracious lordship." This act of parliament, and its limitation of the dignity to heirs male, became the authority upon which the succession of the Earldom was decided in the reign of Charles the First. This earl, however, was not restored to the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, which the earls of Oxford

³ Cart. 10 Ric. II. p. 1. m. 2.

⁴ Patent. 9 Ric. II. pars 1. m. 1. (MS. Cotton, Julius C. vii. f. 237 b.) From the terms of this patent it would seem that these were then regarded as the *Arms of Ireland*. It may be that they were intended to be so constituted by this royal charter, and that they originated as follows: The king had himself assumed the arms of King Edward the Confessor, and impaled them with those of France and England; and he had granted to some of his peers of the blood royal the same, with differences; for instance, his nephew, Thomas Holand Duke of Surrey, bore them with a bordure argent. In like manner he appears to have assigned to his favourite Vere the arms usually attributed to Saint Edmund the King (and which, like those of the Confessor, were usually carried in the royal host), viz., Azure,

three crowns or, differenced by a bordure argent. See an essay on the Ancient Arms of Ireland, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1845, vol. xxiii. p. 603. The coat of the three crowns occurs on an encaustic paving tile, found in Essex, which is engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1818, p. 305. It exhibits three crowns, two and one, quartered with the usual coat of Vere.

⁵ See a memoir of this royal favourite in *Beltz's Memorials of the Garter*, p. 299.

⁶ — "nostre dit sieur le Roi . . . de sa grace especiale restitut, done, et grante par assente du Parlement, al dit sieur Aubrey, le noun, title, estat et honour du COUNT d'OXENFORD, a avoir les ditz noun, title, estat et honour a dit sieur Aubrey, et ses heirs males a toutz jours, et luy fist Count d'Oxenford en plein parlement." Rot. Parl. iii. 303.

had hitherto enjoyed from the reign of Henry the First. It was granted to the king's half-brother, John Holand, earl of Huntingdon, (afterwards duke of Exeter,) and it did not return to the Veres until the accession of Henry the Seventh.

On the history of the succeeding earls I shall only add some few remarks. John the twelfth earl was attainted and beheaded in 1461, suffering from his loyalty to his sovereign of the Lancastrian line.

His son John was restored to the dignity in 1464 ; but was himself attainted in 1474, in consequence of the active part he had taken on the Lancastrian side, during the temporary restoration of Henry the Sixth in 1470 ; having at that period distinguished himself as the last supporter of the cause of the Red Rose, which he maintained in the castle of St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, for many months after the rest of the kingdom had submitted to Edward IV. He was subsequently imprisoned in the castle of Hammes, in Picardy, where he remained for twelve years. At length, hearing of the preparations making by Henry earl of Richmond, to assert his claim to the throne, he won over the governor of Hammes, sir James Blount, and sir John Fortescue the warden of Calais, and, with them, joined the earl at Montargues in Britany. Having thus been mainly instrumental in bringing Henry to the throne, he was immediately restored to the Earldom of Oxford, and also to the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, which he enjoyed until his death in 1513.

On the decease of Henry the eighteenth earl, without issue, in 1625, the Great Chamberlainship descended to heirs female. The succession to the Earldom itself was also disputed. The heir male, Robert de Vere, descended from the fifteenth earl, made claim not only to the earldom, but also to the baronies of Bolebec, Sanford, and Badlesmere,⁷ and to the office of Lord Great Chamberlain : whilst Robert lord Willoughby de Eresby also put in a counter-claim to

⁷ Bolebec had accrued from the marriage of Isabel de Bolebec to Robert the third Earl ; Sanford from that of Alice de Sanford to Robert the fifth Earl ; and Badlesmere from that of Maud de Badlesmere to John the seventh Earl. Sanford, however, has not been admitted by Dugdale or Nicolas as a barony of the

realm : the family held their estates, not *per baroniam*, but by sergeantry of the queen's bedchamber, which is remarkable, considering the earl of Oxford was the king's hereditary great chamberlain. See Banks' *Stemmata Anglicana*, 1825, 4to., p. 245.

the whole, as the son and heir of Mary daughter and sole heir of John the sixteenth earl.⁸ The house of peers decided that the dignity of Earl of Oxford was clearly to be adjudged to Robert de Vere; as for the baronies of Bulbeck, Sanford, and Badlesmere, descending to heirs female, they stated them to be in the king's disposal, by reason that John the fourteenth earl had left three sisters his heirs, and the honour could not be divided; but as to the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, it was referred to the judges then attending the parliament, to consider thereof, and make report upon these two points: 1. whether that Robert earl of Oxford, who made the entail thereof temp. Rich. II. upon his heirs male, was at that time seised of it or not; 2. admitting that he was, whether such an office might be conveyed by limiting of uses. Upon which reference, there being only five judges then attending in parliament (the rest being in their circuits), three of them, justices Doddridge and Yelverton and baron Trevor, declared their opinions for the heir general; but the other two, the lord chief justice Crewe and sir John Walter, lord chief baron, declared for the heir male. Though their legal advisers were thus nearly balanced, the peers were guided in their vote by the majority; whereupon Robert lord Willoughby was admitted in the house on the 13th of April, 1626, bearing his staff as Lord Great Chamberlain, and took his place above all the barons, according to the statute of precedency passed by act of parliament in the 31st Hen. VIII.

The next day Robert de Vere received his writ of summons as Earl of Oxford, and coming to parliament the day following, he had his place next to the earl of Arundel⁹.

The Lord Willoughby was in the same year created an earl, by the title of Earl of Lindsey, in the county of Lincoln. He is famous in the history of the civil war, and was slain at Edge Hill in 1642. In his family the office of Lord Great Chamberlain descended through seven generations to Robert the seventh Earl of Lindsey and fourth Duke of Ancaster;

⁸ The Earl of Oxford's case, and that of the Lord Willoughbie, and a third by which the Countess of Derby claimed the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, are

printed by Collins, in his "Historical Collections," &c., pp. 269—275.

⁹ Journals of Parliament.

on whose death in 1779 it again fell in abeyance between co-heirs. These were his sisters, Lady Priscilla wife of Sir Peter Burrell, and Lady Georgiana, afterwards wife of the first Marquess Cholmondeley. Their children, the present Lord Willoughby de Eresby and the present Marquess Cholmondeley, are now jointly Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and an arrangement has been made that either family shall exercise the office alternately, in successive reigns.

According to the original practice with respect to earldoms to England, the heir general would certainly have been entitled to this ancient earldom ; but the act of parliament of the 16th Rich. II., by which the dignity was revived after attainder, had, as we have seen, limited its inheritance to the heirs male ; and, although the lord Willoughby appears to have relied upon the uncertainty that might arise from subsequent acts of parliament, by which the rebel earls of Oxford had been successively either attainted or restored in blood, and particularly upon an award relative to the family estates, confirmed by parliament in the 23rd Hen. VIII. ; still it appeared that the act of the 16th Rich. II. had not been affected by any of them.

Robert the nineteenth earl of Oxford died in 1632, and there was only one more earl after him : but this earl, the last of his illustrious race, enjoyed the dignity for no less than seventy years. The old name of Aubrey was revived in his person. He flourished, or rather faded, in the effeminate age of Charles II., and to which his manners were unfortunately conformed. On his death in the year 1702 the male line of Veres became extinct ; and it is a remarkable circumstance that the heiress of this ancient race was married to the first of an entirely new one. The heiress of Vere was united to one of the natural sons of king Charles the Second, who was created Duke of St. Alban's.

There had been a junior branch elevated to the peerage in the preceding century, in the person of the gallant sir Horatio Vere, brother to John the sixteenth earl. He was created Baron Vere of Tilbury in 1625, and died without issue in 1635.

After the extinction of the male line, lord Vere Beauclerk, grandson by his mother of the last earl, was in 1750 created

Lord Vere of Hanworth. His son succeeded as the fifth duke of St. Alban's in 1787, and this barony still accompanies the dukedom.

The title of Earl of Oxford was conferred by Queen Anne in the year 1711 on her prime minister, the lord treasurer sir Robert Harley; he was slightly connected with the Veres, from his grandmother Brilliana, daughter of Edward lord viscount Conway, having been the sister of Mary wife of Horatio lord Vere of Tilbury. To the title of Oxford was added the equally proud name of Mortimer; and it has been said that this addition was made because rumours were current that some junior branches of the Veres were still existing, and might possibly still assert their claim to the ancient earldom. This, however, has never happened. Alfred, the present and sixth Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, succeeded to the peerage in 1848, and is now the last male survivor of his family.

Five of the Veres earls of Oxford were knights of the Garter, namely, Robert the ninth earl and duke of Ireland, Richard the eleventh earl, John the thirteenth earl, John the fifteenth earl, and Aubrey the twentieth and last earl. Sir Harris Nicolas, in his *Synopsis of the Peerage*, inserted a correction to his original statement, to the effect that the duke of Ireland was not a knight of the Garter; but the late Mr. Beltz, Lancaster Herald, ascertained the fact of his election, and has inserted a biography of him in his excellent work, "*Memorials of the Garter*," which comprises biographical notices of the knights during the reigns of the first two sovereigns of the order.

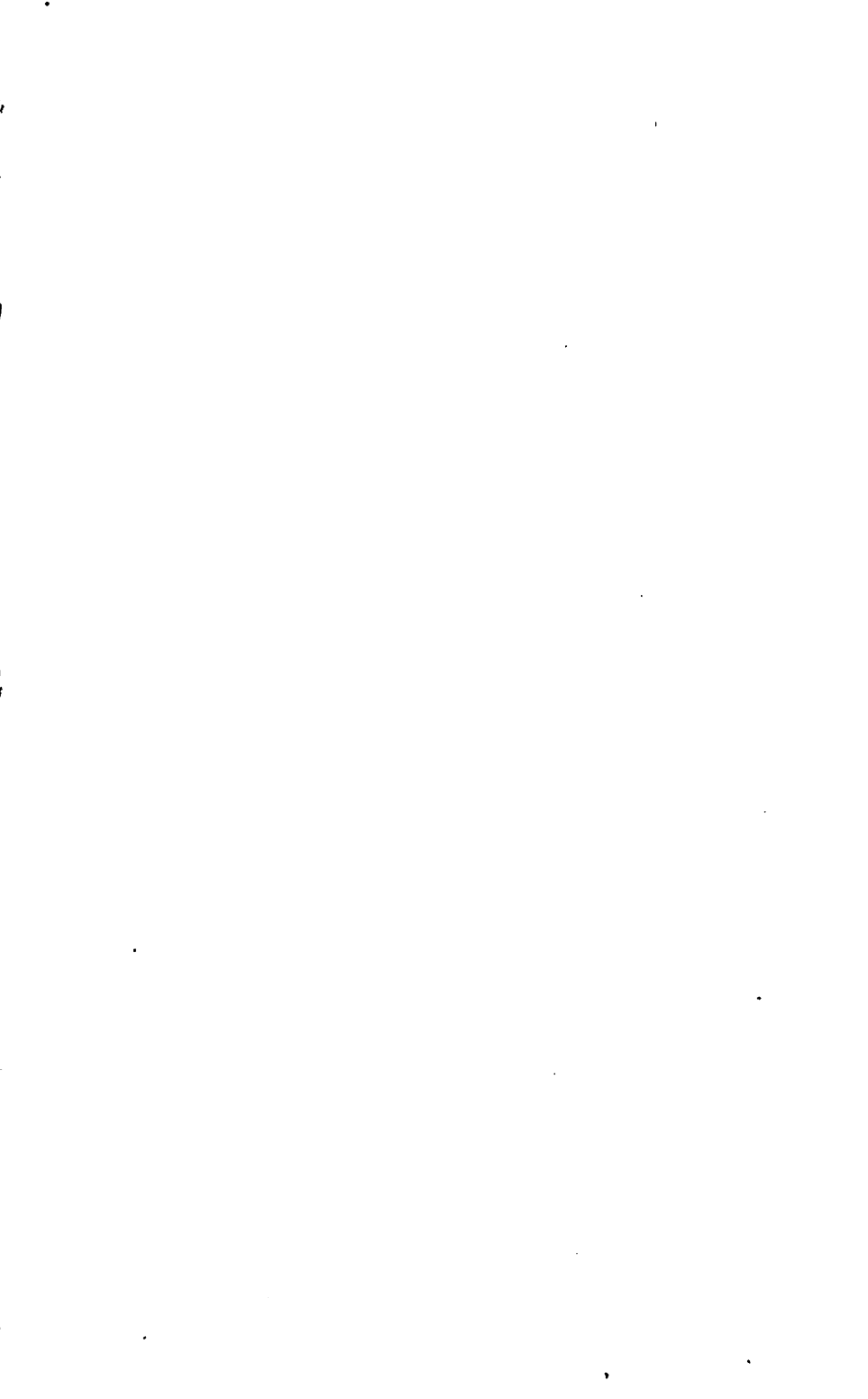
Mr. Doubleday has furnished me with impressions of seals of seven of the earls of Oxford; viz., Aubrey the first earl, Hugh the fourth, Robert the fifth, Robert the sixth, John the seventh (privy seal), Aubrey the tenth (privy seal), and John the thirteenth¹. They do not differ in character from the seals of their contemporaries; and the only two which require any explanation are the first and the last.

The most remarkable feature in the first is that the earl does not display on his shield the arms of Vere. His shield has a central boss, and a circumambient line which a herald

¹ Five of these are engraved in the accompanying plates. The two others are neither perfect nor at all remarkable.



Seal of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

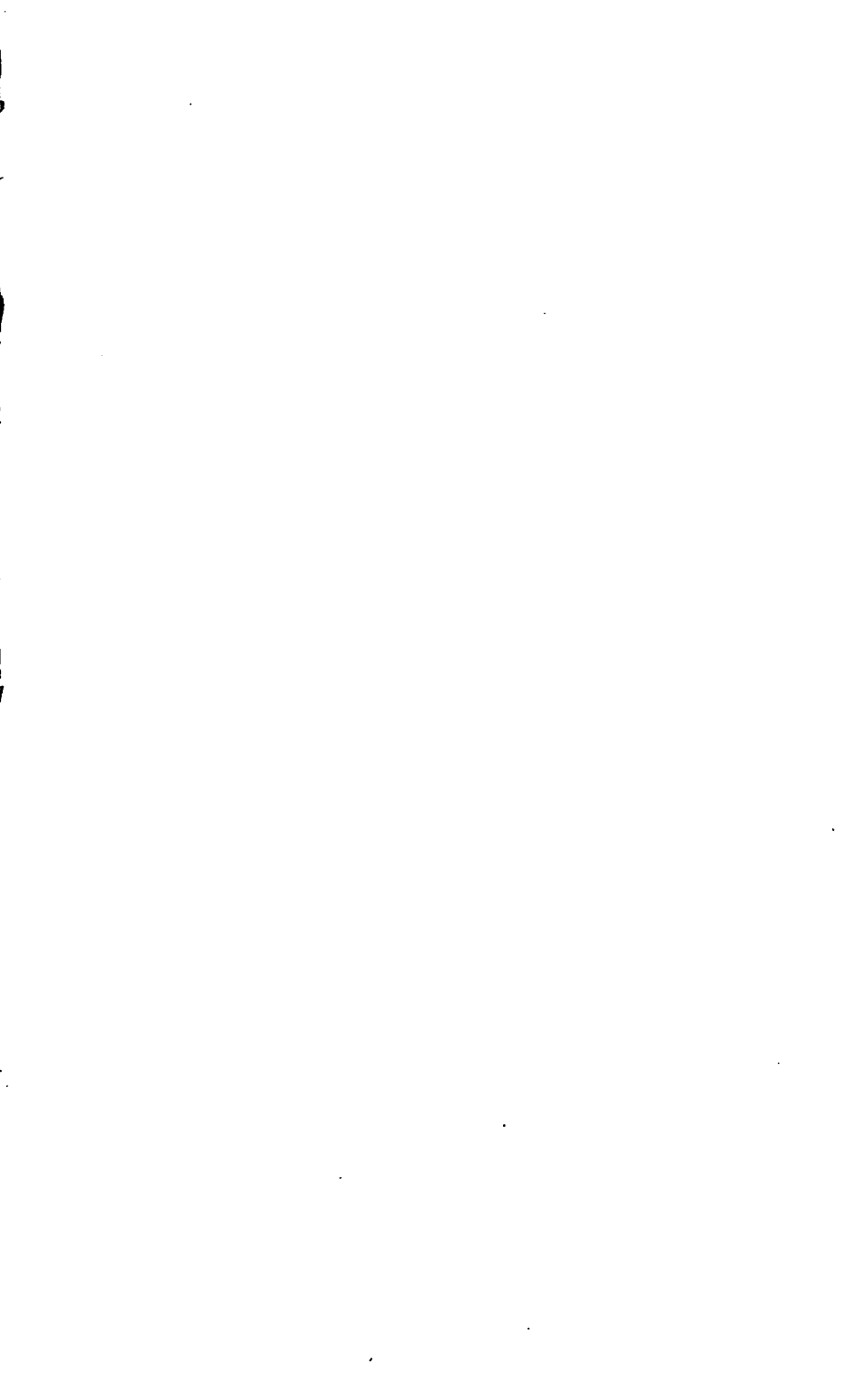




Albericus de Vere, first Earl of Oxford, A.D. 1155.



Hugo de Vere, fourth Earl, 1221–1263.





Privy Seal of John de Vere, seventh Earl, A.D. 1331–1360.



John de Vere, thirteenth Earl, A.D. 1417–1461.

might blazon as a bordure or an orle. But in fact this seal is anterior to the assumption of coat-armour.

In the seal of Earl Hugh, in the reign of Henry the Third, the arms of Vere, quarterly, and a mullet in the first quarter, appear both on the earl's shield and on the housings of his horse.

The seal of John the thirteenth earl is a splendid specimen of the seals of Henry the Seventh's time. The shield bears the arms of Howard quartered with Vere, his mother having been the heiress of sir John Howard, the elder half-brother of the sir Robert Howard who married the heiress of Mowbray, and was progenitor of the dukes of Norfolk. His supporters are antelopes, and the crest a boar. This animal was from the earliest period of heraldry one of the cognizances of the family. The seal of Baldwin de Vere, son of Robert the crusader (presently mentioned), has a boar's head for its device. The boar alluded through the Latin *verres* to the surname of Vere. The French chroniclers whose narrations have been quoted in the earlier part of this memoir, proceeded from *Verres* to *Aper*, and Aubrey de Vere is disguised in the history of Lambert of Ardres under the designation of Albertus Aper. Weever in his Funerall Monuments has preserved the following inscription which was placed upon the tomb of the first earl in Earl's Colne priory :

"Hic jacet Albericus de Vere, filius Alberici de Vere, Comes de Guisney et primus Comes Oxonie, Magnus Camerarius Anglie ; qui, propter summam audaciam et effrænata pravitatem, *Grymme Aubrey* vocabatur. Obiit 26^o die Decembris, Anno Xp'i 1194, Ricardi I. sexto."

And Leland thus varies the same story : "This Albrey, for the greatness of his stature, and sterne looke, was named Albry the Grymme²."

This name of "*Grymme Aubrey*," as Mr. Stapleton has remarked, is simply a translation back into English of the *Albericus Aper* of the French historians—*aper* being viewed as synonymous with *asper*. So readily was a romantic and credulous age misled by the enigmas of its immediate predecessors.

I will now close this paper with a brief allusion to the family of Vere of Drayton in Northamptonshire, whose coat-

² Itinerary, vol. vi. p. 38.

armour is especially interesting. This early off-set of the house was descended from Robert de Vere, who was present when the second William Longespée was slain at the battle of Mansoura, in the Holy Land, in the year 1250³; and his cross-legged effigy is still existing in the church of Sudborough in Northamptonshire. Robert de Vere assumed for his coat-armour the simple red cross on a silver shield, the same which became the national ensign under the designation of the Cross of Saint George: and this coat of the crusaders was borne by his descendants for many generations, as may be seen in their history, which is detailed in the magnificent work of Henry, Earl of Peterborough, which goes by the name of Halstead's Genealogies, folio, 1685.

³ See my "Memoir on the Earldom of Salisbury," in the Salisbury volume of the Institute, and the "History of Lacock Abbey," in which I had the pleasure to

assist the late amiable poet, the Rev. William Lisle Bowles, then Rector of Bremhill, and afterwards Canon of Salisbury.

ON THE PAINTED GLASS IN NEW COLLEGE CHAPEL AND
HALL, OXFORD.

It has often been to me a matter of surprise that there should still be wanting, not only a detailed account, but even an accurate catalogue, of the numerous and interesting specimens of ancient painted glass existing in the public and collegiate buildings of Oxford, considering the number of persons addicted to Archaeological pursuits who enjoy in an Oxford residence, and leisure time, peculiar facilities for such an undertaking.

The present paper hardly pretends to supply the latter desideratum, even in respect of the single example which forms its subject. I have had neither time nor opportunity to test the accuracy of my researches as rigidly as I could have wished ; nor have I sought for any other documentary evidence than what has already appeared in print : therefore, what I have written must be regarded as a contribution only towards a more full and perfect description of the painted glass in New College Chapel and Hall. The labour expended upon it will, I dare say, be appreciated by those who have actually prosecuted similar inquiries.

It will render the following remarks on the glass in New College Chapel more intelligible if I state, at the outset, that this building consists of an Antechapel, or Transept, and of a Choir, or Inner Chapel, at right angles to it. That the Antechapel is furnished with a central West window, having fourteen lower lights—the widest in the chapel—arranged in two tiers, and a head of tracery, to which no further allusion need be made : two smaller West windows, one on either side the last, each having eight lower lights arranged in two tiers, and eighteen tracery lights, six only of which are capable of containing figures ; two windows on the North, and one on the South side, precisely similar to the last in size and arrangement ; and two East windows, facing the smaller West windows, having twelve lower lights apiece—the narrowest in the chapel—and fourteen tracery lights, ten only of which are capable of containing figures ; and that the Choir is furnished with five South, and five North windows, of the same dimensions and arrangement as the smaller West windows of the Antechapel.

I have been thus minute in noticing the relative widths of the lower lights of these windows, because the soundness of the conclusions at which I have arrived respecting the original arrangement of the glass in the chapel, in great measure depends on the fact of the lights of the two East windows being the narrowest, though of equal length with the others.

The remains of the oldest or original glazing are dispersed throughout all these windows, with the exception of the central West window ; and from such an examination of them as time and circumstances have permitted, it appears to me that, when in a perfect state, the lower lights of the northernmost of the West windows, and of the two North windows of the Antechapel, contained representations of the Patriarchs and other worthies of the Old Testament—a single figure under a canopy occupying each light. That in like manner the lower lights of the two East windows of the Antechapel contained representations of the twelve Apostles, and of our Lord's Crucifixion, four times repeated. That similar representations of Old and New Testament and Church saints and worthies occupied the lower lights of the South and smaller West windows of the Antechapel, and most probably the lower lights of all the Choir windows ; and that the various orders of angels¹ were represented in the principal tracery lights of the Antechapel and Choir windows, besides the Coronation of the Virgin, and Wykeham's Adoration of Christ, which are to be seen in the tracery of the East windows of the Antechapel. I have no other clue to the subjects formerly represented in the central West window than what is derivable from the fragments removed from this window to make way for Sir Joshua Reynolds's design, and which are still, I believe, preserved in boxes at Winchester College. From the names which I found on searching these fragments during the Institute's visit to Winchester, in 1845, I conclude that single canopied figures of Church saints occupied the lower lights of this window ; but I should state that I also met with part of a small mitre, apparently belonging to the subject of Becket's Martyrdom, which, however, judging from the small size of the mitre, might have been inserted in the tracery lights of this window.²

¹ One complete set of angels is engraved in "The Calendar of the Anglican Church illustrated," Parker, Oxford, p. 116.

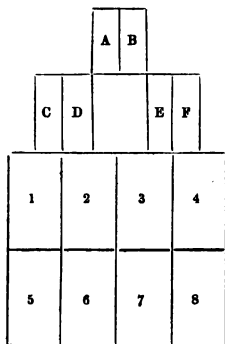
² The glass in Winchester College chapel unfortunately throws no light on the subject. That chapel has no west

I am sensible that the opinion I have formed respecting the original arrangement of the glass rests partly on hypothesis, partly on evidence, in no case conclusive, and in many cases weak and uncertain. With this apology I must leave the matter in the reader's hands, and hope that he will be amused with the description I shall give of the glass, however much he may otherwise differ from my views.

It will be convenient to commence with an examination of the glass in the Northernmost of the West windows of the Antechapel, in which window, as it would seem, the series of subjects originally began; and, in order to compensate as much as possible for the want of illustrative aid, I give the accompanying diagram of this window, in which the lower lights are distinguished by numbers, and the principal tracery lights by letters. I shall employ the same diagram in explanation of all the other windows, except the central West and the two East windows of the Antechapel.

THE NORTHERNMOST WEST WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

Each of the eight lower lights of this window is occupied, as already mentioned, with a canopy containing a single



figure; and I will state, since an attention to such minutiae will tend materially to facilitate our investigation of the other windows, that each of the canopies in Nos. 1 and 3 has a flat hood, its spire background coloured blue, and the tapestry

window. Its side windows are fitted with canopied figures of saints and angels; and its east window with a design composed of the following subjects: The Stem of Jesse, the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment. When represented by itself, the

Last Judgment is, I believe, most commonly assigned to a west window, but when associated with the Crucifixion, it is very frequently met with in an east window. The Crucifixion is usually represented in an east window.

back of its niche, which extends upwards to the groining of the niche, red ; and that the canopies in Nos. 2 and 4 have projecting hoods, red spire grounds, and blue tapestries. Whilst in the lower tier of lights, Nos. 5 and 7 have projecting hoods, blue spire grounds, and red tapestries ; and Nos. 6 and 8, flat hoods, red spire grounds, and blue tapestries. By which means, as will be perceived, a perfect alternation of form and colour is maintained throughout the canopies. All the canopies have projecting pedestals ; but those only of the lower tier of lights are crossed by the founder's legend, "*Orate pro Willelmo de Wykeham episcopo Wynton fundatore istius collegii*," which is written upon a continuous scroll, divided only by the mullions of the window.

Light No. 1. *Jonas p'pheta* is written across the pedestal of the canopy. The figure, which, like the other Old Testament worthies, has no nimbus, holds a scroll inscribed, *Hebreus ego su' & dominu' d'm celi ego timeo*.—(See Jonah i. 9.) The tapestry is powdered with letters *l*, crowned.³

No. 2. *Joel p'pheta* is written on the pedestal of the canopy. The scroll held by the figure is inscribed, *In valle josaphath iudicavit o'es ge'tes*.—(See Joel iii. 12, of which this seems a paraphrase.) The tapestry is powdered with letters *l*, crowned.

No. 3. *Amos [p'ph]eta*⁴ is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *qui [æd] ificat in celu' assenc'one' sua'*.—(See Amos ix. 6.) The tapestry is powdered with letters . crowned.

No. 4. *Micheas p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *De [Si] on exhibit [egredietur lux & v]erbm' de vert*.—(See Micah iv. 2.) The tapestry is powdered with letters *M*, crowned.

No. 5. *Ada' pm' pa [ter]* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a spade, and looks sorrowful. The tapestry is powdered with letters *A*, crowned. Part of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal of this and the next three canopies.

No. 6. *Eva m'r o'z'u viveciu'* is written on the pedestal.

³ The crowned letters bring to mind Chaucer's prologue to the Canterbury Tales :—

"Of smale corall aboute hire arm she bare
A pair of bedes gauded all with grene,
And thereon heng a broche of gold ful
shene,

On whiche was first yritten a crowned A,
And after, *Amor vincit omnia*."

⁴ The missing parts of the inscriptions, when this is practicable, are supplied within brackets.

The figure holds a distaff. The tapestry is powdered with letters E, crowned.

No. 7. *Seth filius Ade'*, is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a book. The tapestry is powdered with letters S, crowned.

No. 8. *Enoch tra'slat'* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a small scroll, inscribed, *ivit cu' deo*. The tapestry is powdered with letters E crowned.

The tracery lights of this window A to F inclusive are each filled with a canopy under which stands an angel. *Troni* is written upon a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The angels throughout these tracery lights are alike in design. The canopies have alternately blue spire grounds, and red tapestries, or *vice versa*. The smaller tracery lights are filled with ornaments, such as leaves, monsters, &c., painted upon white and yellow stained glass.

FIRST NORTH WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL FROM THE WEST.

Light No. 1. *Osee p'pheta*, is written on the pedestal. the figure holds a scroll inscribed, *O mors ero [mo]rs tua morsus tuus ero inferne*. (See Hosea xiii. 14.) The tapestry is powdered with letters H, crowned. From which I infer either that the tapestry does not belong to this figure, or that in the course of repairs wrong letters have been inserted. However it may have been a mere caprice to aspirate the name.

No. 2. *Abacuch p'pheta*, is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed *D'ne audiui [auditi]o'e tua' & timui*. (See Habakkuk iii. 2.) The tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned.

No. 3. *Ysaïas p'pheta* is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *ecce virgo concipiet & pariet filium*. (See Isaiah vii. 14.) The tapestry is powdered with letters Y, crowned.

No. 4. *[B]aruc p'pheta*, is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *Post hec in tri's visus est & cu' hom' co'v'satus est*. (See Baruch iii. 37.) The tapestry is, however, powdered with letters M, crowned. Most of the remarks made on No. 1 equally apply here.

No. 5. *Mathusale fili's Enoch*, is written on the pedestal. The figure holds a small scroll, which appears to be inscribed

with the following words, *Legem n mor'*. The tapestry is powdered with letters **M**, crowned. The following portion of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal.—*Orate p Willm'o*.

No. 6. *Noe : i : archa' : fab'a* is written on the pedestal. The figure holds an oar. The tapestry is powdered with letters **N**, crowned. The portion of the founder's legend that crosses the pedestal is, *de W*—

No. 7. *Abraha' p'riarcha*, is written on the pedestal. The tapestry is powdered with letters **A**, crowned. The portion of the founder's legend which crosses the pedestal is . . . *ton fu'dator'*.

No. 8. *Isaac patriarcha*, is written on the pedestal. The tapestry is powdered with letters **I**, crowned. The portion of the founder's legend attached to this pedestal is *istius* —

Each of the tracery lights A to F inclusive is filled with a canopy, under which is a military figure, winged as an angel, clad in a basinet and camail, jupon, broad sword-belt, petticoat of mail below the jupon, and plate or cuir-bouilli arm and leg armour. The figure holds a spear, to which a pennon charged with a plain cross is attached. *Prin : ci : pa : tus* is written on a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with ornaments as in the last window.

SECOND NORTH WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL FROM THE WEST.

No. 1. Light. *Sophonias p'pha*, is written on the pedestal of the canopy. The scroll held by the figure is inscribed, *Hec est civitas gl'riosa quia dicit ego sum*. (See Zephaniah ii. 15.) The tapestry is powdered with letters **S**, crowned.

No. 2. *Daniel p'pheta*, is written on the pedestal. The figure points downwards with its right hand, as if in allusion to the den of lions. On the scroll is written, *Post ebdomadas septuaginta (sic) duas occit'*. (See Daniel ix. 26.) The tapestry is powdered with letters **D**, crowned.

No. 3. *Jeremias p'pha*, is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed *Patre' vocabis me dicit d'ns* (see Jeremiah iii. 19). The tapestry is powdered with letters **I** crowned. Across the pedestal is written the following portion of the founder's legend, *orate p*— Which is either an insertion, or else shows that this figure was taken from some other window having prophets in its lower tier of lights.

No. 4. *Abdias p'pha*, is written on the pedestal. The scroll is inscribed, *et rectum erit d'nm d'ni amen*. The tapestry is powdered with letters A crowned.

No. 5. *Jacobus p'ar* —, is written on the pedestal. The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned. The following portion of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal *orate p Willmo*.

No. 6. *Judas ma . . .* (Machabeus ?) is written on the pedestal. The figure has a coronet and sceptre. The tapestry is powdered with letters I, crowned. The following portion of the founder's legend is written across the pedestal, *de Wykeh'm ep'o*.

No. 7. *Moyses dux P'li dei*, is written on the pedestal. The figure holds in his left hand a green diptych, inscribed with Lombardic capitals. The tapestry is powdered with letters M, crowned. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend, *Wynton fu'dator*.

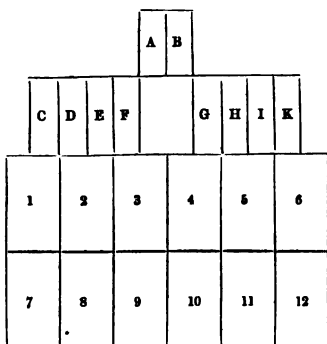
No. 8. *Aaro'* is written on the pedestal. The lower part of the tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned, and the following portion of the founder's legend crosses the pedestal, *istius collegii*; but the feet only of the figure belong to the high priest. The rest belongs to a prophet, part of another window, who appears to be Nahum, from the corresponding part of the tapestry being powdered with letters N, crowned, and from the following inscription on the scroll held by the figure: *ecce sup' montes ewa'geliz'atis ann'catis*. (See Nahum i. 15.)

Each of the tracery lights A to F inclusive is filled with a canopy, under which is a winged figure habited in the civil dress of a king, *i. e.* crowned, holding a sword and sceptre, and clad in a tunic with short skirts, a furred tippet, hose, and shoes. *Dna : cio : nes* is written on a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with ornaments as in former windows.

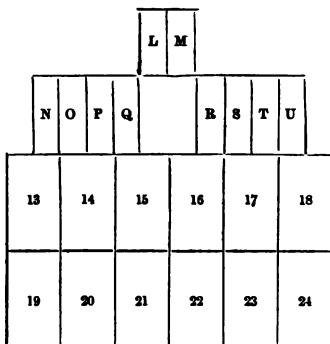
THE TWO EAST WINDOWS OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

The arrangement of the subjects of these windows in their original order, is a somewhat troublesome task, requiring a close attention to detail, and continual references to individual lights. It will be convenient to distinguish the

windows by calling one the Northern-East window, and the other the Southern-East window ; and, with a view



NORTHERN-EAST WINDOW.



SOUTHERN-EAST WINDOW.

to render the following investigation more intelligible, I subjoin diagrams of both windows, in which the lower lights are numbered, and the principal tracery lights lettered in a consecutive series, commencing in the Northern-East window.

No. 1 light. The glass in this light consists of portions of several designs. The upper part of the light is occupied with the head of a canopy, the spire background of which is red. From its fitting the light, and there being only three others like it in the building, I conclude that it belongs to one of the canopies containing a crucifix hereafter mentioned. Below is part of another canopy cut to fit the light, under which is placed the upper part of a female figure on a red tapestry background, powdered with letters C, crowned. This figure does not belong to either window.

Below it is the central part of another figure, on a blue tapestry background, powdered with letters E, crowned : which likewise does not belong to either window. The remainder of the light is filled with the lower part of a canopy, which, as I shall have occasion to refer to it again, I shall describe minutely. The pedestal of this canopy differs in design from that of any of the canopies in either window, except the three which I shall presently mention. In particular it is much more lofty, is hollow, and within it is the sitting figure of an aged man, supported on the top of a tall slender pedestal or shaft. A scroll passes through the pedestal of the canopy, a little below the figure just mentioned, and at the same height from the sill of the

light, as that at which the pedestals of the canopies in Nos. 4, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24, hereafter described, are crossed by the founder's legend. The portion of the scroll in the present case is inscribed, *episc* —. The lower part of the canopy niche remains; on its floor are three steps coloured green, surmounted by what is evidently the shaft of a cross, coloured purple: on each side of which is a small portion of a white cloud; the rest of the subject is wanting. The inside of the niche has a blue tapestry ground, powdered with little yellow saltiers, or letters, X.

No. 2. In the head of this light, and exactly fitting it, is the head of a canopy on a blue spire ground, exactly like that first mentioned in No. 1. The rest of the glass, consisting of part of a canopy which has been cut to fit the light, half a female figure on a blue tapestry ground powdered with letters C, crowned, part of the hood of a canopy, and part of the base of another, inscribed *Mari* — *Salome*, does not belong to either window.

No. 3. In the head of the light, and exactly fitting it, is the head of a canopy on a red spire ground exactly like that first mentioned in No. 1. Below is part of a canopy which has been cut to fit the light. Under it is the upper half of a female figure (which does not appear to belong to the canopy), on a blue tapestry ground, powdered with letters E, crowned. Below are fragments of canopy-work made into a sort of pattern; and the residue of the light is occupied with the pedestal, and part of the niche of a canopy, which clearly was originally of the same design as that described in No. 1. The only difference is, that here the steps of the cross are coloured purple, the shafts green, and the tapestry ground red. The scroll running through the pedestal is made up of fragments of other scrolls.

No. 4. The whole of this light is occupied with a representation of a figure and canopy. The canopy, across whose pedestal is written the following portion of the founder's legend, *Istius collegii*, is, in other respects, exactly like that in No. 19 light. The figure is a duplicate of that in No. 24 light. Any further description of either is, therefore, postponed for the present.

No. 5. In the head of the light, and exactly fitting it, is the head of a canopy on a blue spire ground exactly like that first mentioned in No. 1. Below is part of a canopy

cut to fit the light, and the upper half of a female figure holding a palm branch, on a red tapestry ground, powdered with letters M, crowned. A piece of yellow glass has been accidentally inserted in the nimbus of this figure, in such a manner as, at first sight, to impart to it a cruciferous appearance. The figure does not belong to either window. The remainder of the light is filled with a pedestal and part of a niche of a canopy, precisely similar to that described in No. 1. The steps of the cross are here green, the shaft is purple, the tapestry red, and on the scroll running through the pedestal is written, *Wynton*.

No. 6. In the upper part of the light is the top of a canopy, of the same design as that in No. 4 light, having a red spire ground. Below is part of the hood of a canopy, cut to fit the light, under which are fragments of a male saint (which do not belong to either window), on a blue tapestry ground, powdered with letters B, crowned. The remainder of the light is filled with the pedestal and part of the niche of a canopy similar to that described in No. 1. The steps of the cross are green, the shaft is pink, the clouds, as in all the other examples, are white ; and seven of the toes of the Saviour are still attached to the shaft, leaving the nature of the design no longer in doubt. The tapestry ground of the niche is blue, powdered with yellow letters, X ; and the scroll which passes through the pedestal is inscribed, *fundatore*.

No. 7. This is a figure and canopy light. The canopy hood is supported by a semicircular niche arch ; its spire background is blue, and the niche tapestry is red. Precisely similar canopies are inserted in Nos. 9 and 11, and in Nos. 13, 15, and 17 also. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Petru'*. The figure, which exhibits the tonsure, carries a book in one hand and keys in the other ; it is clad in blue and white robes, the white being powdered with letters P, crowned, drawn in outline, and stained yellow.

No. 8. This is also a figure and canopy light. The canopy hood is double-headed ; its spire ground is coloured pink or warm purple, and the niche tapestry is blue, powdered with small yellow stars or suns rayonnés. Precisely similar canopies are inserted in Nos. 10, 12, 14, 16, and 18. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Andrea'*. The figure carries a small saltier.

No. 9. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Jacob'*. The figure holds a pilgrim's staff.

No. 10. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's J[ohan]'es*. The figure carries a cup, from which a dragon issues, and is clad in red and white robes, the white being powdered with small dragons issuing from cups, drawn in outline, and stained yellow.

No. 11 is inscribed *Sc's Thoma'*. The figure holds a spear in the left hand ; the forefinger of the right is uplifted,—a movement which, coupled with the general attitude of the figure, seems to allude to the means whereby the Saint's incredulity was overcome.

No. 12 is inscribed *Sc's Jacob'*. The figure, which carries a scymetar, is clad in red and white garments, the white being powdered with small monsters, drawn in outline and stained yellow.

No. 13 is inscribed *Sc's Philippu'*.

No. 14 is inscribed *Sc's Bartole'm*. The figure carries a knife.

No. 15 is inscribed *Sc's Mathe'*.

No. 16 is inscribed *Sc's Simon*. The figure bears an axe.

No. 17 is inscribed *Sc's Mathia'*. The figure carries a club.

No. 18 is inscribed *Sc's Judas*.

No. 19. The canopy in this light differs in design from any of those already described. Though its hood is as long as those in No. 7 and the following lights. The pedestal is crossed with the founder's legend, at the same level as the pedestal in No. 1, &c. The spire background is red, and the tapestry blue. The figure under the canopy is, from the sorrowful expression of the countenance, evidently a representation of the Mater Dolorosa : the left hand is pressed against the head ; in the other is a book. The figure looks towards its left. There is no other inscription except the following portion of the founder's legend, *Orate p Willo*, which, as before mentioned, crosses the pedestal of the canopy.

No. 20. The canopy is of the same design as the last, but its spire background is coloured blue, and its tapestry is red, powdered with letters M, crowned. The figure is evidently a representation of the Mater Dolorosa. The hands are clasped together ; the figure looks to its left. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend : *Fundatore*.

No. 21. The canopy is of the same design as No. 19, and has a red spire ground. The tapestry is blue, but is powdered with yellow crosses. The figure, which looks to its right, is evidently a representation of St. John the Evangelist. The right hand is pressed against the head, but the countenance is not particularly sorrowful. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend : *Episcopo.*

No. 22. The canopy is of the same design as No. 19. The spire background is blue, and the tapestry is red, powdered with letters M, crowned. The figure is an exact duplicate of that in No. 20. The portion of the founder's legend is, *Wynton.*

No. 23. The canopy is of the same design as the last, but the spire ground is red, and the tapestry blue, powdered with yellow crosses. The figure is a perfect duplicate of that in No. 21. The portion of the founder's legend is, *de Wykeham.*

No. 24. The canopy is of the same design as No. 19, but the spire ground is blue, and the tapestry is red, powdered with letters I, crowned. The figure, which, as before mentioned, is an exact duplicate of that in No. 4, is evidently a representation of St. John the Evangelist. The countenance is sorrowful ; the right hand is pressed against the head, in the other is a book. The pedestal is crossed with the following portion of the founder's legend : *istius collegii.*

TRACERY LIGHTS.

A is occupied with the representation, under a small canopy, of a Bishop on his knees, in apparent adoration of the figure in B, which, though mutilated, may be easily recognised as that of our Saviour, seated, and exhibiting the wound in his side to the kneeling Bishop, which, I apprehend, personifies William of Wykeham. This figure is likewise under a canopy. An angel under a canopy is inserted in each of the lights C to K inclusive. The smaller tracery lights are filled with monsters or other ornaments.

The Coronation of the Virgin is represented in L and M, but the subjects have been transposed, the figure of Christ now occupying L, and that of the Virgin M. Each figure is under a canopy. An angel, in female attire, under a canopy,

occupies each of the lights N to V, inclusive. The smaller tracery lights are filled with monsters or other ornaments.

Having described the subjects in these windows, I proceed in the next place to state my reasons for supposing that they were originally arranged as I have mentioned.

One remarkable feature is, that the pedestal of no canopy in the lights Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, is crossed by any continuous scroll, and that the pedestals of the canopies in Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 are so crossed; the scroll being as before mentioned, inscribed with the Founder's Legend. This circumstance, when considered with reference to the design and arrangement of the glass in the other windows of the building—the contents of one of the West and of the two North windows of the Antechapel have already been described—raises a strong inference that the glass in the first-mentioned series of lights originally occupied an upper tier of lights, and that the glass in the series of lights secondly mentioned originally occupied a lower tier of lights. That such lights are the lights of these two windows is evident from the fact of their being the narrowest lights in the building, and that the glass exactly fits them.

Let us, then, re-arrange the glass upon this supposition, and put in No. 1 light what is now in No. 7 light; in No. 2 what is now in No. 8; in No. 3 what is now in No. 9; in No. 4 what is now in No. 10; in No. 5 what is now in No. 11; in No. 6 what is now in No. 12; leaving the glass in Nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18 as it now is, and we shall find the Apostles arranged in a not uncommon order,⁵ and a perfect alternation preserved in the forms of the canopies, and in the colouring of the designs, throughout the upper tier of lights. Let us now put in No. 7 light the glass which is in No. 20 light; in No. 8 the remains of the canopy work first mentioned in No. 1, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 1; in No. 9 what is now in No. 4; in No. 11 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 2, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 5; in No. 12 what is now in No. 23; in No. 20 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 5, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 3; and

⁵ It is possible that Nos. 15 and 17 are transposed. If St. Mathias were to take the place of St. Matthew, which there is nothing in the order of the canopy design

or colouring to prevent, the apostles would be arranged as at Fairford Church, Gloucestershire, with the single exception that there St. Matthew precedes St. Jude.

in No. 23 the remains of the canopy-work first mentioned in No. 3, and the portion of the crucifix in No. 6 ; leaving No. 10 blank, and the glass in Nos. 19, 21, 22, and 24 as it now is ; and we shall find, supposing the missing subject of No. 10 light to have been a duplicate of that in No. 19,⁶ and that the remains of the canopy-work, first mentioned in No. 6, belonged to it ; that not only will a perfect alternation in the forms of the canopies and the colouring of the subjects be preserved throughout the East windows, in the one, whether regarded in a horizontal or in a perpendicular direction ;⁷ in the other, when regarded in a horizontal direction—and it is obvious that a double alternation might, by a different arrangement, be produced in this as well as in the former window—but that the attitudes of the figures will correspond with the arrangement of the subjects. Thus, the Virgin and St. John, if placed according to the new arrangement in the lights Nos. 7 and 9, would be turned towards the Crucifix in No. 8 ; the Virgin in No. 10 light (which I have supplied by copying the figure in No. 19), and the St. John put in No. 12 light, would be turned towards the Crucifix in No. 11 light ; and the Virgins in Nos. 19 and 22, and the St. Johns in Nos. 21 and 24, would be turned, respectively, towards the Crucifixes in Nos. 20 and 23 lights.

It is true that the portions of the founder's legend, attached to the glass now in Nos. 1, 4, 5, 20, and 23 lights, will not make sense under the new arrangement of the subjects, but this circumstance is entitled to no weight. The

⁶ It is by no means an uncommon occurrence to find in ancient glass, the same figures repeated in different, or even the same windows of the same building. I know of an instance as early as the latter part of the twelfth century.

⁷ This alternation of design and colour is observable in many early Perpendicular windows. The following diagram may serve to explain my meaning. Let the letters arranged in a square, represent A C four figures and canopies : and let B D canopies A and B each have a red spire-ground, and blue niche tapestry ; and canopies C and D each have a blue spire-ground, and red niche tapestry. It will follow that the masses of colour, when regarded horizontally, will alternate thus :—the red spire-ground of A with the blue spire-ground of C ; the

blue tapestry of A with the red tapestry of C ; the red spire-ground of B with the blue spire-ground of D ; the blue tapestry of B with the red tapestry of D. And when regarded vertically, the masses of colour will alternate thus :—the red spire-ground of A with the blue tapestry of A, this again with the red spire-ground of B, and this again with the blue tapestry of B. And so, the blue spire-ground of C with the red tapestry of C, this with the blue spire-ground of D, and this with the red tapestry of D. Of course, if the canopies A and D are of one design, and B and C of another, their different patterns will likewise alternate. To put precisely the same case as that in the text the canopies must be supposed to be of four different patterns.

inscriptions on the pedestals of Nos. 1 and 5 have evidently been made up of fragments; and there is no reason why we should not suppose that those on the pedestals of Nos. 4, 20, and 23 have not likewise been supplied in the course of repairs. For it is impossible by any arrangement of the subjects to bring the word written on the pedestal of No. 20 into its proper place in the legend, or to arrange matters so as to make both parts of the legend attached to the pedestals of Nos. 4 and 23 fall into the inscription; one part or the other must be rejected as an insertion. On the other hand, the parts of the legend attached to the pedestals now in the lights Nos. 6, 19, 21, 22, and 24 will be found to read correctly on the suggested re-arrangement of the subjects. The pedestal in No. 3 light is, as before mentioned, at present without any legend at all.

It is unnecessary to speculate on the reasons which may have led to the fourfold repetition of the Crucifixion in the lower part of these windows; but lest this repetition should appear unfavourable to the view I take of the original arrangement of the glass, I will add that no subject is more commonly represented in a window above an altar than the Crucifixion, and that it is by no means improbable that four altars, two under each window, were placed against the east wall of the Transept, or Antechapel, although no trace of them may now exist.

SOUTH WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

This is a figure and canopy window, like the windows on the north side.

No. 1 light. *Sc's* is written across the pedestal of the canopy. The figure is that of a Bishop. The tapestry of the niche is powdered with the letters **P**, crowned.

No. 2. *Sc's Pelagius* is written across the pedestal of the canopy. The figure is that of a Pope, having a tiara encircled with only one coronet. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **P**, crowned.

No. 3. *Sc's Alphegus* is written across the pedestal. The figure is that of an Archbishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **A**, crowned.

No. 4. *Sc's Gemreta* is written across the pedestal. The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **G**, crowned.

No. 5. *Sc's Athanasius* is written on the pedestal, with is crossed by the following portion of the founder's legend :—*Orate p Willo*. The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters A, crowned.

No. 6. *Sc's [Barn]ard'* is written on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following portion of the founder's legend :—*Wynton fu'd[atore]*. The figure is habited as a monk, in a russet dress. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters B, crowned.

No. 7. *Sc's* — appears on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following part of the founder's legend :—*Wynton fu'dator*. The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters H, crowned.

No. 8. *Sc's Anselmus* is written on the pedestal, which is crossed by the following part of the founder's legend :—*Wykeham*, turned the wrong side upwards. The figure is that of an aged man, wearing a green cap, gloves, an alb, and a russet mantle over it. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters S and letters A, crowned.

The tracery lights of this window, A to F inclusive, are each filled with a canopy, under which stands an angel. *Cherubim* is written upon a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with foliage and monsters.

SOUTHERNMOST WEST WINDOW OF THE ANTECHAPEL.

This is likewise a figure and canopy window.

No. 1 light. On the pedestal is written *Maria Egipc'aca*. The figure is that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters M, crowned.

No. 2. *Sc'a Martha* is written on the pedestal. The figure is that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters M, crowned.

No. 3. This light is a good deal mutilated. The pedestal is inscribed *Maria Jacobi*, and the lower part of the niche tapestry is powdered with letters M, crowned. But the figure itself is that of a prophet, holding a scroll like the figures in the north windows, inscribed *visitabo oves meas & liberabo ea[s]*.—(See Ezekiel xxxiv. 12.) The remainder of the niche tapestry is powdered with letters E, crowned.

No. 4. This light is also much mutilated. The upper part

of the figure is that of a Queen, and the niche tapestry is powdered with letters **W**, crowned. The lower part of the figure belongs to a different subject. The pedestal is inscribed *Sc's Cuthbert*, and is crossed by the following part of the founder's legend :—*Orate p Willmo*; from which I conclude that this part of the design belonged originally to a lower tier light of some window.

No. 5. *Sc's* — is written on the pedestal. The figure is that of a Bishop. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **B**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

No. 6. *Sc's Bri* is written on the pedestal. The figure is, however, that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **C**, and letters **B**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

No. 7. The figure is that of a female. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **E**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

No. 8. The figure is that of a Queen. The niche tapestry is powdered with letters **E**, crowned. A portion of the founder's legend, now missing, crossed the pedestal.

The tracery lights of this window, A to F inclusive, are each filled with a canopy, under which stands an angel. *Seraphim* is written upon a small scroll at the foot of each canopy in the lights A and B. The smaller tracery lights are filled with foliage, and monsters, as in the other windows.

The present seems the most convenient place for offering a few remarks on the date, style, and general effect of the oldest or original glazing of the Chapel.

In the absence of any direct information, we can arrive only at an approximation to the date of this glass. That it was erected in Wykeham's lifetime may be inferred, if not even from the style of the legend which runs across the windows, and contains the expression "*Orate pro Willemo de Wykeham*," at least from the fact of New College having been the first of Wykeham's three great works, and the silence of his will respecting its fabric; a will which, as is well known, contains minute directions for the glazing of a part of Winchester Cathedral. Indeed, the somewhat earlier character of the glass as compared with the windows of Winchester College Chapel, which have been copied faithfully, as it would seem, from the original glazing of that edifice,

would justify the supposition that it was erected before the commencement of Winchester College, in 1387. On the whole, I think we shall not be far wrong in concluding that the windows of New College were glazed between the founding of the establishment, in 1379, and its being taken possession of by the first warden, and fellows, in 1386, at which time, we have reason to believe, that the Chapel and Hall were completed; and if so, that the windows were glazed, for it is true, as a general rule, that in medieval times the glaziers commenced operations as soon as any part of a building was ready to receive the glass.

The glass, though Perpendicular in its general character, and therefore to be regarded as one of the earliest, if not the earliest, exponent of that style, displays, as might be expected, many Decorated features, as in the design of some of the canopies, especially as exemplified in the square tower over the niche arch, from which the spire of the canopy rises; and even in the pedestals used in the lower tier of lights, which, with the small rayonnated sun on each side, bear considerable resemblance to the pedestals of the early Decorated canopies in the Lady Chapel windows of Wells Cathedral—in the coloured moulding sometimes occurring under the battlements of the tower—in the coloured windows of the spire—in the pot-metal yellow finials occasionally employed—in the shape of the crockets—in the use of flesh-coloured glass to represent the nude parts of several of the principal figures—in the white hair and beards, leaded into pink faces, &c. Yet these, and many other Decorated features, which a practised eye will not fail to detect, are, as it were, merged in the general character of the later style, which displays itself in the broad colouring of the windows, in the general flatness of the composition, which, by the way, is more remarkable in the North, South, and West windows of the Antechapel than in the East windows, where the canopy spires are cut out and surrounded with colour more completely—a circumstance which once induced me to think that these canopies were of earlier date than the rest—in the preponderance of white and yellow stained glass over the pot-metal colours; and, though in a less prominent degree, in the attitudes and draperies of most of the figures, particularly those in the North, South, and West windows—in the drawing, especially of the heads—in the thinness of the

black outlines—in the general softness and delicacy of the execution, &c. Smear shading is occasionally used in the canopy-work, but the shadows are generally executed, if I mistake not, in “Smear shading stippled,” an invention of the early part of the 14th century, and which differs from “Stipple shading” (the mode commonly adopted in the 15th century) in this, that the lights are left clear in the first instance, instead of being picked out of a stippled ground of Enamel Brown, spread uniformly over the glass. The granulation and depth of the shading are perhaps best shown in the white robe of Eve, in the northernmost West window; but, even in this instance, the shadow is not very coarsely stippled, nor can it be called deep even in its deepest part. There is no instance, in any of the windows, of the practice, adopted with such effect in later times, of making the accidental varieties of depth common in a sheet of coloured glass correspond in position with the lights and shades of the picture; and, though many parts of the composition are strongly contrasted in colour to others, yet this is not sufficient to supply the want of deeper shadows and more decided outlines, and secure the distinctness of the design, or save the painting from the imputation of being little else than a congeries of flat spots of white and coloured glass.

When, in addition to this defect, the imperfection of the figure drawing⁸ and want of proper perspective in the canopies are brought to mind, we are tempted to inquire what is it that renders these windows so beautiful, so infinitely more agreeable than those of modern times. It cannot be their discoloration, for modern windows that have been as much discoloured fail to please. The secret lies

⁸ Should it be objected that most of these figures possess a certain degree of sublimity, I would respectfully warn my readers of the danger there is of engendering a false taste by recurring to such models for sublimity. Nothing is more true than that from the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step. What can be more absurd, for instance, than the mode of representing the Passage of the Red Sea by a capering figure betwixt two cauliflowers; or the Plagues of Egypt by so many carcasses, frogs and fish, &c., sprawling in a plate—as in the late M. Gérente's window at Ely; or the Raising of Lazarus, by a mummy jumping up like Jack-in-the-Box; or Sampson slaying the Lion, by a

clown who, with much grimace and affected violence, caresses the royal beast; as in his brother's windows at Christ-Church, Oxford, and the late Exhibition; or, I may add, than the cat's-eyed saints of Messrs. Pugin and Hardman! Enthusiastic amateurs should recollect that they tolerate such things at the risk of being laughed at by the very persons they employ. Work of this description is even now sick-named, in derision, *bogie-work* by the glaziers' men. If sublimity is aimed at, we may be sure it will not be reached simply by rectifying the more palpable anatomical faults of the mediæval artists.

in the fine tone and harmony of their colouring: and, perhaps, I may venture to add in its perfect keeping with the architectural character of the building. There is not a harsh or discordant hue anywhere. The whole colouring is equally quiet and subdued, and is in entire agreement with the silvery grey of the white glass. It is without doubt to the excellent tone of the latter material that this satisfactory result is owing. For this same white glass, which has no modern representative,⁹ forms the base of all the coloured glasses, and consequently imparts to them its own hue; of the actual depth and greenness of which we are not aware so long as the white is intermixed with cool blues, reds,

⁹ As I still meet with occasional assertions to the contrary, I think it is as well to repeat what I have constantly stated, that modern glass differs from old both in tone, colour, and texture, and this more widely in proportion to the difference of date; the nearest resemblance, though by no means an exact one, being between modern glass and that of the sixteenth century, and the greatest difference being between it and the glass of the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries; and further, that the attempts hitherto made to disguise this difference have completely failed. I am able to make this assertion more positively, since it is borne out by certain chemical experiments which I have caused to be instituted during the last two years, the result of which I hope, ere long, to make known through the medium of this Journal. I, of course, should not be expected to notice any opinion of the writers in the *Ecclesiologist* on a subject of this kind, nor should I now allude to them, if it were not to guard those who may be as inexperienced, or as careless observers as themselves, from the danger of being misled by the misrepresentation of a matter of fact which occurs in the following passage.—“Mr. Winston reminds us that ‘no cleaning is able to deprive ancient glass, of a certain date, of its tone, richness, and general appearance.’ This we entirely deny. The east window of Bristol, *which is of middle-pointed date*, has been lately cleaned, and it is neither better nor worse than Messrs. Wailes, or O’Connor, or Willemet would produce. *Rich* is just what it is not,” &c. &c. It unfortunately happens that about two-thirds of the Bristol window consists of modern glass. But the appeal to it is not useless, as it serves to show that an ability to distinguish modern from ancient glass is not a necessary qualification for an adept

in the mysteries of ecclesiology. Of the various expedients resorted to for imitating the effect of the ancient material, Messrs. Powells’, and Messrs. Hartleys’ processes for roughening the surfaces of the glass, are the most successful, though but expedients after all. “Antiquating the glass,” i.e., dulling it with enamel colour in imitation of dirt and the rust of age, is commonly resorted to as a means of destroying the perfect pellucidness of the modern material: a quality resulting from refinements in the manufacture. Instead, however, of making the glass look thick and rich like the old, it only makes it dull and heavy in effect: nor does it materially improve its tone of colour. Of three imitations of ancient glass in the late Exhibition, which I particularly examined, one by M. Lussan, which had been the most antiquated, was the least watery in effect. The second, by M. Gêrente, which also had been antiquated, though in a less degree, was, in proportion, more flimsy. The last, by Messrs. Pugin and Hardman, which had not been antiquated at all, was the most flimsy and watery. But they were all inferior to ancient glass in richness, depth, and, particularly, in tone of colour: as was indeed easily shown by holding clear pieces of ancient glass beside them. M. Lussan’s, on the whole, was decidedly the best imitation, but this was not owing to the greater antiquating of the glass. I am surprised that the eyes of the public are not yet open to the absurdity of literally copying designs of an early period in a material so different from that in which such designs were originally worked, and with reference to which we may suppose they were made. We might as well expect a literal copy, in wood, of a stone spire, or of a wooden spire in stone, to produce a satisfactory effect.

purples, and apparently though not really faded greens, as in the Antechapel windows ; but which surprises us when fully brought out by contrast with a warmer scale of colouring, as will hereafter be shown to be done in some of the south windows of the nave. Without expecting a ready acquiescence in the opinion hazarded, that a part of the pleasure excited by the colouring of these windows arises from a perception of its harmony with the architectural character of the building ; I cannot but think that the idea is less fanciful than may at first appear. There is a gloominess in the style of Gothic ecclesiastical architecture which is very much opposed, not indeed to rich, but to warm and gay colouring. And though this gloominess in the present instance is, to a certain extent, disguised by the elegance of the modern fittings, and the warmth of the yellow wash with which the walls of the Antechapel and Choir are covered, it still exists, and grows upon the eye in proportion as the building is contemplated : and the more fully the gloominess of the architecture is perceived, the less striking does the cold colouring of the Antechapel windows appear, until at last it seems more appropriate to the place than the warmer and gayer colouring of the windows of the Choir.

I now proceed to give a short account of the glass in the Choir windows, beginning with the first window from the East, on the south side.

The tradition is, that all the glass in the south windows is Flemish, and the work of Ruben's scholars.¹ But this does not appear to be altogether correct. A great many of the figures in the lower lights are, it is true, the work of foreign artists, and, in the absence of any certain information, I am inclined to think of the Flemish school, in the latter part of the sixteenth or early part of the seventeenth century. But the whole of the canopy-work, which is evidently copied from glass of similar design to that in the Antechapel is, except those portions of it that actually are of Wykeham's time, of comparatively a recent date ; at which period the rest of the large figures appear to have

¹ Gutch, in a note to Wood's History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford, p. 199, says the windows on the south side of the chapel were originally Flemish, done, as

is reported, from designs given by some scholars of Rubens, and were purchased by the society, of Wm. Price, who repaired them in 1740.

been painted, some of the old ones supplied with heads, and almost the whole of the old glass, not only the Flemish, but the remains of the original glazing in the tracery lights as well as in the lower lights, retouched. Coupling these facts with the inscription at the bottom of the last window from the East, which records the fact that W. Price repaired these windows in 1740, I can come to no other conclusion than that the greater part of the glazing is the work of Price, who adapted the Flemish figures to the lights.

THE FIRST SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

All the figures in the lower lights of this window appear to have been painted by Price. Some represent Bishops, Archbishops, and a Pope, but no names are given. Some are canonised saints. Five of the crozier heads, and a great part of the canopy hoods,² are of the same date as the ancient glass in the Antechapel. The glass of which these remains are composed, which in the Antechapel would seem to be white, here appears to be a positive light green, from contrast with the warm colours that surround it, and particularly from its being opposed to the warm grey or light sky-blue used as a spire back to the canopies. The founder's legend, in modern glass, is carried along the bottom of this, as well as of the other south windows.

The execution of the painting is very heavy. There are scarcely any clear lights.³ The shadows are not stippled,

² It is not easy to conceive what motive could have induced Price to work up any part of the ancient materials. In re-shading the old canopy hoods, so as to make them harmonise with the powerfully-shaded figures beneath, he has however shown himself a better artist than the majority of the modern imitators of ancient glass, who seldom scruple to clap a deeply shaded figure below, it cannot be said *beneath*, a canopy as flat in effect as the material on which it is painted actually is. This defect might be observed in many of the specimens in the late Exhibition. It seems to result from a habit of copying the figures from ancient MSS., and the canopies from ancient painted glass. For if both were alike copied from old windows, our imitators could hardly fail to observe that the medieval artists, as in the windows of the Antechapel, were wont to make both

figures and canopies equally, or almost equally, flat. After all, the fault rests with the amateurs, without whose countenance such extravagancies could not be committed.

³ It is difficult, no doubt, to prescribe the extent to which, in painting glass, the material may be obscured, or the high lights subdued with enamel colour, without violating the fundamental conditions of this branch of art: and I would recommend any one, who really feels an interest in the subject, to suspend his judgment until he has had an opportunity of actually examining and comparing a variety of painted windows. Without, however, attempting to lay down any rule, I think I may venture to say, that if a picture in painted glass appears to be, on the whole, as brilliant and transparent as an equal extent of plain glazing of the same date as itself, we may be sure that the obscuration

but hatched as in an oil painting, and besides being always muddy are frequently too deep. The shade of the interior of the canopy niche is absolutely black. The colouring is in general, raw. The blue is of an unpleasant purple hue, but the ruby, as is not uncommonly the case in Price's works, is as scarlet as that of the fifteenth century, but of a rawer tone through being made on a purer white base. Enamel blue is employed in some of the draperies and smaller ornaments; and a red enamel, like china red, for the flesh colour; but in general pot-metal colours are used. It is to this circumstance principally, that the superior effect of the south as compared with the north windows of the nave is owing.

- The tracery lights are of the same design as those of the Antechapel windows. A figure and canopy occupies each from A to F inclusive, and various ornaments the smaller lights. The figures are of Price's time, but parts of the original glazing occur in the canopies, and in the smaller lights. The word *cherubyn*, at the bottom of the canopies A and B, is in each instance on an ancient piece of glass.

THE SECOND SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

I am inclined to think that all the figures in the lower lights of this window, and certainly that all their heads, are Price's. A Bishop and a Cardinal are represented, as well as ordinary saints, but no names are given. Three of the crozier heads, and large portions of the canopy work are of

of the material has not been carried too far; and if, in addition, when considered with reference to its design, it betrays no incompleteness of effect, we may be satisfied that the obscuration of the material has been carried quite far enough, a standard which by no means excludes all but picture-glass paintings executed in an absolutely flat manner; since it is completely attained by any good specimen of the period between 1530 and 1540, though adequately representing canopy-work, or even the interior of a building, as by the flattest Gothic picture: whilst many a modern glass painting, of the flattest possible design, such as an ornamental pattern, will be found to fall below it. It equally condemns, on the one hand, the opinion of most modern artists, that a

glass painting ought to be a dull transparency; as exemplified, for instance, in the windows of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, Paris; and, as may be recollected, in the majority of the works sent to the late Exhibition; on the other hand, the abortive attempts of modern imitators of old glass, to represent canopy-hoods, and other projecting work, landscapes, &c., without the aid of shadows, linear or aerial perspective, as shown, on the whole perhaps most consistently, in the glass paintings of Messrs. Pugin and Hardman; leaving, as a matter entirely irrespective of the question at issue, the choice whether of a flat, *but artistic*, or more rotund manner of representation, to be determined by the good taste of the artist and the nature of the subject.

Wykeham's time. The glass of which they are composed, as in the former window, looks perfectly green. The tracery lights are of the same general design as the last. A good deal of the canopy-work, &c., and the whole of one or two of the figures, which are simply angels, are original, as is the word *Dnaco'es* which is written under each of the canopies A and B. The old blue tapestry ground is retained in one of the lights. This appears quite cold and greenish in hue, on comparison with the glass in the lower lights.

THE THIRD SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

Price seems to have painted the figures in the upper tier of lower lights, at all events, if not some of those in the lower tier. He has retouched them all. Amongst them are represented Bishops, Patriarchs, and three female figures. One of the crozier heads is of Wykeham's time, and there are some original pieces in the canopy hoods. All the angels in the tracery lights are Price's work. There are fragments of the original glazing in the canopies, and in the smaller lights, and the original inscription *Seraphyn* remains in the lights A and B. The figures are those of angels.

THE FOURTH SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The figures represented in the lower lights are a Pope, an Archbishop, St. John the Evangelist, another male saint, St. Catherine, and three female saints. The heads of three of the male figures are by Price, and St. Catherine's head is a copy of the head in light No. 5 of the next window ; but, with these exceptions, the figures appear to be of Flemish workmanship.

Parts of the angels in the tracery lights are original, but have been retouched. The original inscription, *Troni*, appears in the lights A and B. Some of the blue niche tapestry is old, and appears very cold in comparison with the modern blue. The smaller tracery lights are original.

THE FIFTH SOUTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

Amongst the figures represented in the lower lights are a Pope, two Kings, a Bishop and three female saints, one of

which holds a cross, another a sword. These appear to be Flemish, and are more artistical than Price's. The male heads are entirely free from that vulgar air which is so lamentable in his work; they are also less wrinkled, and more fleshy. The female heads are delicate and pleasing, but, like the male heads, have too much an air of *prettiness* to suit the character of a monumental work. In point of execution, the work resembles Price's: about the same proportion of enamel colouring is used, and the same mode of shading is adopted; but the shadows are more delicate than his, and the colouring of the draperies is better in tone. At the bottom of the light No. 8 is the inscription before referred to—*W. Price has fenestras reparavit, Ao. Dni. 1740.*

Most of the figures in the tracery lights (simple angels) are original, but have been retouched. The greater part of the canopy-work is also original; and the original inscription, *Principal*, remains at the bottom of the lights A and B.

The North windows⁴ will not require a detailed notice of any but the tracery lights, in which alone any part of the original glazing is preserved. It appears, from an inscription in the first window from the east, that the glass in the lower lights was painted by W. Peckitt, in 1765; and certainly one cannot but perceive how much the art of glass-painting had deteriorated since the days of Price. The general design is the same as that of the south windows. A figure under a canopy occupies each light; but the figures are poorly drawn, and the canopies are weakly designed, except the bases of those in the lower tier of lights, which, with the founder's legend that crosses them, are copied from the old ones in the Antechapel. Their enamel blue spire ground produces a flimsy effect, and the colouring of the windows generally is inferior to that of the south windows. Some pot-metal, and much enamel coloured glass, is used in the draperies; as well as stained red, and some bad, heavy-tinted, streaky ruby, much resembling the ruby used by Peckitt in the east window of Lincoln Cathedral, which was painted by him in 1762. The shading is muddy, there are

⁴ The following account of these windows is given by Gutch, in a note to Wood, p. 199. "The windows on the north side, done by Mr. Peckitt, of York, in 1765 and 1774. The three nearest the screen contain in the lower range the

chief persons recorded in the Old Testament, from Adam to Moses. In the upper, twelve of the prophets. Mr. Rebecca gave the designs for these. In the two other windows, are our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and the Twelve Apostles."

no clear lights, and the deep shadows are quite black. Our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, the Twelve Apostles, St. Paul, and St. Barnabas are represented in the two first windows from the east ; and a series of prophets, patriarchs, and worthies, ending with Adam and Eve, in the other windows. Under the figure of the Virgin, in the second window from the east, is the following coat :—*Argent, on a chevron, sable, three quatrefoils, or* ; and on a scroll beneath is written, *Johannes Eyre, Arm., Hujus Hosp. Soc.*

TRACERY LIGHTS.—FIRST NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glass in these lights is original. A female figure holding a lamp, under a canopy, occupies each of the lights A to F, inclusive. *Vir gines* is written across the base of each of the canopies A and B. In the smaller tracery lights are monsters, or foliated ornaments, as in the Antechapel windows.

SECOND NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glazing in the tracery lights of this window is also original. An angel under a canopy fills each of the lights A to F, inclusive. At the foot of A and B respectively is written, *Angeli*. The smaller lights are ornamented in the same way as those of the last window.

THIRD NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glazing of the tracery lights of this window is likewise original. An angel under a canopy is represented in each of the lights A to F, inclusive ; and at the foot of A and B respectively is written, *Archangeli*. The smaller tracery lights are ornamented as before.

FOURTH NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glazing of the tracery lights of this window is also original. An angel completely armed in plate, or *cuir bouilli*, but bare-headed, holding a battle-axe in his left hand, and a spear, with a square pennon bearing a plain cross, in his right, under a canopy, is represented in the lights A to F, inclusive. The following is written, one half in light A,

the other half in light B : *Vir tutes*. By some mistake the halves have been transposed in the window.

FIFTH NORTH WINDOW FROM THE EAST.

The glass in the tracery lights of this window is also original. In each of the lights A to F inclusive, is a canopy, under which is an angel with legs and arms entirely enclosed in plate, or *cuir bouilli*; wearing a jupon and sword-belt, a tippet of ermine round his neck, and a sort of fur cap on his head. He holds a long baton in his left hand. In some of the examples the baton has a short spike at the top, like that usually represented at the butt end of a staff. At the bottom of lights A and B respectively is written *Potestates*.

In noticing the great west window of the Ante-chapel,⁵ it is not my intention to enlarge on its defects. These have been pithily summed up by a distinguished artist,⁶ to whom I refer the reader. I fully admit their existence, and regard this work as a great misapplication of art. Its most unfortunate effect has been to produce an unfounded prejudice against the application of art to glass painting, and occasion a revulsion of feeling among amateurs. Every one has felt the justice of Horace Walpole's sneer at the *washy* virtues of Sir Joshua: but, it cannot be denied, on the opposite side, that the tendency of the present age to dispense with all artistic qualities in the pursuit of windows which shall display an abundance of strong and gaudy colouring, is an error leading to still more pernicious consequences. It is true that certain writers who follow the popular delusion,⁷ occasionally, and to save appearances, talk about the necessity for a display of art in painted windows, but on examining the examples they indicate as

⁵ Gutch, in a note to Wood, p. 199, states that "for this work, which was begun about the year 1777, finished cartoons were furnished by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and then were copied by Mr. Jervais." I recollect seeing Sir Joshua's original sketch some years ago at the British Institution. It was richly coloured. The subject consists of the Adoration of the Shepherds, in the lights of the upper tier; with a single figure occupying each light of the lower tier, except the centre one, which contains a group representing

Charity. A little green pot-metal glass is used in this group. The rest of the painting is executed with enamel colours and stains. Some of the lower figures have a pearly effect; but they are not sufficiently separated from the ground of the window, either by colour or by shadow.

⁶ In the Winchester Volume of the Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, "William of Wykeham," p. 30.

⁷ See, amongst others, the "Ecclesiologist," and "Morning Chronicle," *passim*.

models, we perceive that a display of very low art indeed is sufficient to satisfy their demands. Leaving then these blind guides, let us recollect that though our climate and habits may forbid the employment of fresco painting to any great extent, yet that there exists in our windows as favourable a field for artistic development, though subject to different conditions, as in an equal breadth of wall. That ancient windows, except in the case of mere restorations, are worthy of being copied only so far as regards the composition and colour of their material. And that so long as we are content to see produced, year after year, windows immeasurably inferior in all respects to the works of foreign artists, works by the way far from being perfect models themselves, as for instance the window lately erected at Brussels Cathedral, by Capronnier; those at Cologne, or Munich; or the specimens sent to the late Exhibition,⁸ by Capronnier, Bertini, and others; so long may we expect in vain any improvement in the art to take place.

The painted glass in the Hall windows, of which there are three on the south, and four on the north side,—the hall running in the same line as the chapel,—consists of coats of arms exclusively. The following shields are of the same date as the original glazing in the chapel.

In the third window from the east on the north side, *Argent, between two chevrons sable, three roses or.*—William of Wykeham. The shield is of the transitional character which prevailed on the confines of the Perpendicular style. The diaper closely resembles some ornament of similar date in the first window from the east, of the north

⁸ It is unfortunate that the opportunity so fairly offered of leading the public taste in a right direction by the award of the Fine Arts (No. XXX.) Jury, on the painted-glass in the late Exhibition, has been so completely thrown away. The worthlessness of the award must be evident to any one who really examined the specimens. It is, however, not singular that the work of Capronnier did not only receive no prize, but was not even considered worthy of mention, by judges who discovered so much merit in the works exhibited by Gerénte, Pugin and Hardman, Howe, Wailes, and O'Connor. M. Bontemps, in his "Examen historique

et critique des verres, vitraux, cristaux, composant la Classe xxiv., de l'Exposition universelle de 1851," (Weale), very naturally expresses himself at a loss to discover on what principle the prizes were adjusted. [See p. 41, note; see also p. 52, note.] Most of my readers are aware that M. Bontemps has had great experience in painted glass during upwards of thirty years, and that he was elected an assessor of the jury XXIV. The section B of the above-mentioned pamphlet contains very just, though perhaps occasionally too good-natured criticisms on the glass paintings that were exhibited.

chancel aisle ; St. Thomas's Church, Salisbury. Each of the roses (which is turned the wrong side outwards) has a yellow centre, formed by grinding away the coloured surface of the ruby, here thin and smooth, and staining the white glass yellow. This is the earliest instance that I have yet met with of the practice.

Azure, a sword and key saltierwise, argent ; in chief, a mitre of the second. The ancient arms of the See of Winchester.—See the seal of William of Wainflete, engraved in his Life by Chandler. The same bearing occurs in one of the windows of the choir clerestory of Winchester Cathedral. This building is dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, from whose emblems the coat is principally composed.

In the second window from the east, on the north side—*Argent, a cross gules.* St. George.

Quarterly, 1st and 4th. *Azure, semé de lis, or.*

2nd and 3rd. *Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale, or.* King Richard the Second.

In the first window from the east, on the south side—*Gules, three crowns in pale, or.* This coat has been assigned to several imaginary personages, as for instance, the King of Crekeland. The panel surrounding the shield is coeval with it. It is not improbable that the other shields were originally surrounded with similar panels, and that these were inserted in lights having ornamental borders, and a ground of ornamental quarries. The ruby of the field is thin and smooth on the sheet, as indeed is all that in the Antechapel windows. The border of the panel is shaded with smear shading, stippled.

The remaining coats are of the time of Henry VIII. Some are fine examples of the period.

In the first window from the east, on the south side—*Argent, on a chevron gules, between three pellets, a cock of the first. Over a fillet, vert, a chief of the first, charged with a double rose of the second, between two leopards' faces, azure.* The shield, which is within a wreath, is surmounted by a mitre. John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln from 1520 to 1547.

In the second window from the east, on the south side—*Party per fess or, and gules ; a demi rose and de misun conjoined, counterchanged of the field. Issuant from the demi rose, is the neck of a double-headed eagle sable, and from each side of the rose issues an eagle's wing displayed, of the last.* The shield

is within a wreath much mutilated. It was originally surmounted by a Cardinal's hat, of which only the strings remain. Wood declares that these arms were given by the Emperor Maximilian, to William Knight, a Fellow of the College; Gutch adds, by letters patent, dated 20th July, 1514; and that he was made Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1541. It is difficult to reconcile the existence of the Cardinal's hat with this statement, except on the supposition that it formed part of the original grant of arms.

Quarterly, 1st. *Argent, a pelican in a nest feeding her young ones, vert.*

2nd and 3rd. *Argent, a lion rampant, vert.*

4th. *Argent, an eagle displayed, vert.* Robert Sherburne, Bishop of Chichester from 1508 to 1536. The first quarter of the arms is much mutilated.

In the third window from the east, on the south side—The arms of Edward Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward the Sixth), within a wreath, and surmounted by a coronet. The second and third quarters are lost.

Azure, on a cross, or, between four griffins' heads erased, argent, a rose gules. The shield is within a garter, and is surmounted by a mitre. Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester from 1531 to 1550, and from 1553 to 1555.

In the fourth window from the east, on the north side—*Azure, an episcopal staff, or, surmounted by a pall argent, charged with four crosses paté fitché, sable: impaling Gules, a fess, or; in chief, a goat's head argent; in base, three escallops of the last.* William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1504 to 1532. The arms are within a wreath, and surmounted by a mitre.

The arms of King Henry the Eighth, supported by a red dragon and white greyhound.

The complicated charges and high finish of these coats, as well as the delicate texture of their material, contrast strongly with the more simple and more boldly executed shields of the time of Wykeham.

Other arms, mentioned by Wood in his "History of the Colleges and Halls of Oxford," have disappeared.

E. WINSTON.

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS IN OXFORD CATHEDRAL.

A VERY brief notice of the ancient Sepulchral Monuments in the Cathedral of Oxford is given by Mr. Britton in his History of that structure ; and, in the account of it in "The Memorials of Oxford," this deficiency is unfortunately not supplied. The older writers on the Cathedral, Anthony Wood, Browne Willis, and Gutch, have preserved the inscriptions extant in their times, and some heraldic notices ; but their attempts to describe the monuments are meagre and unsatisfactory, and these sepulchral memorials have never yet, I believe, been treated of in detail, with that particularity which they deserve.

The sculptured monuments, though few in number, are of a class which we might reasonably expect to find preserved in an old Conventual Church. Many sepulchral slabs which formerly covered the pavement of the choir were removed and despoiled of their brasses, in the early part of the seventeenth century, in the year 1630, when the old stalls were taken down, and the present substituted in their stead. But the removal and destruction, partial or entire, of memorials of the dead was a practice, however much to be regretted, neither confined to this Cathedral, nor to any one particular era, for we shall find that an ancient church is hardly ever taken down for the purpose of reconstruction, but fragments of Sepulchral Memorials, some of a very early period, are discovered worked up in the walls, whilst various palimpsest brasses will prove the want of reverential feeling, sometimes even anciently displayed, towards memorials of that description.

The ancient sculptured monuments in the Cathedral, and to a brief description of which I shall chiefly confine myself, are three in number, and are those of a Prior of St. Frideswide, of apparently the early part of the reign of Edward the Third ; of the Lady Montacute, a monument of the latter part of the reign of Edward the Third ; and of a Knight of the reign of Henry the Fourth. These are disposed or placed under the arches which divide the north chapel from the north aisle of the choir. Of the Watch Chamber, misnamed

the Shrine of St. Frideswide, it does not fall within my province to treat. I shall have to offer, however, a few remarks on the slab with the matrices for two incised brass figures, of which it has been despoiled.

The monument of the Prior, the most ancient now existing in the Cathedral, consists of a plain high tomb with a recumbent effigy, surmounted by a canopy. The latter is a rich specimen of architectural design in the fourteenth century ; the sides, the north and south, present a front of three pointed arches cinquefoiled within, the heads springing from clustered shafts, the caps of which are sculptured with vine-leaves and surmounted by three crocketed pediments with intervening and flanking pinnacles, which latter form the finish to small lozenge-shaped or angular-faced buttresses, which are carried from the base of the tomb upwards. The hollow mouldings of the arches and pediments are enriched with the ball-flower disposed at intervals. At each angle of the canopy, but placed diagonally, is a small niche for a statuette, but the sculptured figures are much mutilated. The internal vaulting of the Canopy is in three bays octopartite, the cells being divided by small moulded ribs, with sculptured bosses in the centre of each bay.

On a slab, with chamfered edges, on the tomb lies the effigy, with a canopy ogee—arched on the top and sides ; these arches are foliated within and crocketed externally. The head of the effigy, which is bare and tonsured with flowing locks by the sides of the face, reposes on a double cushion, the uppermost lozenge-shaped, the lowermost square. The Prior is represented vested with the Amice about his neck with the apparel ; in the Alb, the apparels of which appear at the skirt in front and round the close-fitting sleeves at the wrists ; with the Stole and Dalmatic, or Tunic, which, it is somewhat difficult to say ; these two latter are not sculptured but merely painted on the effigy, and are only apparent on a careful examination ; over these is worn the Chesible. This vestment is very rich, and ornamented with orfrevs round the borders, over the shoulders, and straight down in front. Hanging down from the left arm is the Maniple ; the Boots are pointed at the toes, and the feet rest against a lion. There is no indication of the pastoral staff ; the hands are joined on the breast. This effigy has been assigned both to Guymond, the first prior, who died in 1149,

and to Philip, the third prior, who died in 1190. It is very clear, however, that it is a sculpture of the fourteenth century, and it is executed with considerable breadth and freedom. The face also is close shaven ; had it been an effigy of the twelfth century, we should have had both the moustache and beard. This effigy has been elaborately painted, and is worthy of minute examination.¹

The next monument to be noticed is that of Elizabeth, Lady Montacute, the daughter of Peter Montfort, and wife of William, Lord Montacute, by whom she had four sons and six daughters. She died in 1353. Her monument consists of a high tomb, the sides of which are divided into three panelled compartments ; the middlemost containing three panels, the others two panels each. These panels are arched-headed and cinque-foiled, and five of them on each side contain small statuettes, eighteen inches high, representing the children of the deceased. At the head and foot of the tomb are quatrefoiled compartments, that at the head containing, within the sides of the quatrefoil, the evangelistic symbols of St. Matthew and St. John, with a bas relief between them of the Blessed Virgin bearing in her arms the Divine Infant, and that at the foot containing, within the sides of the quatrefoil, the evangelistic symbols of St. Mark and St. Luke, with a female figure in relief between them, clad in a gown and mantle, and with long flowing hair. The sides of this tomb have been covered with polychrome. The slab which covers this tomb is eight feet eight inches long and three feet six inches wide. On this is placed a smaller slab, six feet six inches long and one foot ten inches wide, on which is the recumbent effigy of Lady Montacute.

The head of the effigy reposes on a double cushion, and is supported on each side by a small figure of an angel in an alb ; these albs are loose and not girded round the waist. The heads of these figures are defaced, and they are otherwise much mutilated. She is represented with her neck bare, her hair disposed and confined on each side the face within a jewelled caul of network ; over the forehead is worn a veil, and over this is a rich cap or plaited head-dress with *nebulé* folds, with a tippet attached to it and falling down behind. Her body-dress consists of a robe or sleeveless

¹ A representation of this tomb is given in Gough's *Sep. Mon.* vol. i. pl. xii., and in Storer's *Cathedrals*, vol. iii.

gown, fastened in front downwards to below the waist by a row of ornamented buttons. The full skirts of the gown are tastefully disposed, but not so much so as we sometimes find on effigies of the fourteenth century. The gown is of a red colour, flowered with yellow and green, and at each side of the waist is an opening, within which is disclosed the inner vest, of which the close-fitting sleeves of the arms, extending to the wrists, form part; this is painted of a different colour and in a different pattern to the gown. This was probably the corset worn beneath the open super-tunic. The gown is flounced at the skirts by a broad white border, and round the side-openings, and along the border of the top of the gown, is a rich border of leaves. The hands, which are bare, are joined on the breast in a devotional attitude. Over the gown or super-tunic is worn the mantle, fastened together in front of the breast by a large and rich lozenge-shaped morse, raised in high relief. This mantle falls down on each side of the body in graceful folds, but the arrangement of the drapery is differently disposed on one side to the other. The mantle, of a buff colour, is covered all over with rondeaux or roundels connected together by small bands, whilst in the intermediate spaces are fleur de lis: all these are of raised work and deserve minute examination. They are apparently not executed by means of the chisel, but formed in some hard paste or composition, laid upon the sculptured stone and impressed with a stamp. The feet of the effigy appear from beneath the skirts of the gown in black shoes and rest against a dog. This effigy has been sculptured and painted with great care.

The statuettes on each side of the tomb are most interesting, from the varieties of coeval costume they tend to illustrate. The first and easternmost of these, on the north side of the tomb, is the most puzzling and difficult of all to describe, as regards the costume, and the more so from the mutilated state in which it now appears. It is that of a male, who is habited in a red cloak, the borders of which are jagged. This is buttoned in front to the waist by lozenge-shaped morses and may have been the garment called the Courtepye, and discloses a short white tunic or vest, plaited in vertical folds, with a bawdrick round the body at the hips. This figure, as regards descriptive costume, is perhaps the most speculative of all. Next to this is the effigy in relief

of an abbess, in a long loose white gown or robe, a black mantle over, connected in front of the breast by a chain, with a tippet of the same colour. The head has been destroyed, but remains of the plaited wimple which covered the neck in front are visible, as also of the white veil on each shoulder. The pastoral staff appears on the left side, but the crook is gone. Next to this is the effigy of another, in most respects the same as the last, but with this exception, that the left sleeve of the gown, which is large and wide, is seen, as well as the close sleeve of the inner robe. Two of the daughters of the Lady Montacute were in succession abbesses of Barking, in Essex, and are here thus represented. Sculptured effigies of abbesses, especially of this period, are rare, and I know but of one recumbent sepulchral effigy of this class, existing in Polesworth Church, Warwickshire. This is a fact which renders these the more interesting.

The next figure is that of a female, in a green, high-bodied gown or robe, with small pocket-holes in front and sleeves reaching only to the elbows. The fifth figure is also that of a female, in a white robe or gown, with close sleeves, close fitting to the waist, where it is belted round by a narrow girdle, and thence falls in loose folds to the feet : over this is a black mantle. There are also indications of a plaited wimple about the neck, but the head of this, as of the other effigies, has been destroyed.

On the south side the easternmost figure, of which the mere torso remains, is that of a male in a doublet, jagged at the skirts and buttoned down in front, from the neck to the skirts, with close sleeves buttoned from the elbows to the wrists,—*manicæ botonatæ*, with a bawdrick round the hips, and buckled on the right side. From the bawdrick on the left side the gipciere is suspended. This much mutilated effigy presents a good specimen of the early doublet. Next to it is the figure of a male, in a long red coat or gown, the *toga talaris*, with a cloak over, buttoned in front downwards from the neck as far as the third button, from whence it is open to the skirts. This dress, in the phrase of the fourteenth century, would be described as "*cota et cloca*." In the right hand is held a purse.

Next to this is the figure of a Bishop, intended possibly to represent Simon, Bishop of Ely, A.D. 1337—1344, one of the sons of Lady Montacute. He appears in his episcopal vest-

ments, a white Alb, with the apparel in front of the skirt, a black Dalmatic fringed and open at the sides, and a chocolate coloured Chesible, with orfreys round the border and disposed in front pallwise. The parures or apparels of the Amice give it a stiff and collar-like appearance. The head of this effigy has been destroyed and the outline of the mitre is only visible. The pastoral staff has been destroyed, with the exception of the pointed ferule with which it was shod. It was, however, held by the left hand. The Maniple is suspended from the left arm, but no traces of the Stole are visible. In more than one instance we may notice on episcopal effigies the absence of either the tunic or dalmatic, and sometimes of the stole.

The fourth figure on this side of the tomb is that of a lady in a gown or robe buttoned down in front from the breast to the waist, and with sleeves reaching only to the elbows, from whence depend long white liripipes or false hanging sleeves; small pocket-holes are visible in front. From beneath this gown or super-tunic, for it would have been anciently described as "*supertunica*," the loose skirts of the under robe, of which also the close-fitting sleeves are visible, appear. Behind this figure are the remains of a mantle.

The fifth and last figure is also that of a female, in a gown or super-tunic, close fitting and buttoned in front to the waist.

From the diversity of costume of one and the same period, which they present, these figures are most interesting, and are deserving of far more attention than I have been able to devote to them.²

The next monument in point of chronological order is a high tomb, the south side of which is divided in five compartments by quatrefoiled circles, each enclosing a shield. A similarly-designed compartment may be seen at the head. The north side and foot of this monument are not exposed. On this tomb is the recumbent effigy of a knight, in body armour of the period of Henry IV., but presenting no very peculiar points of interest. On the head is a conical basinet, attached by a lace down the sides of the face to a camail or tippet of mail, which covers the head and shoulders, epau-

² Coloured representations of this effigy, and its highly curious details, as also of the smaller figures above described, are given by Mr. Hollis, in his "Monumental

Effigies of Great Britain," a sequel to Stothard's valuable series, which unfortunately has never been brought to completion.

lières, rere and vambraces, and coudes incase the shoulders, arms, and elbows, and on the hands are gauntlets of plate. The body-armour is covered with an emblazoned jupon, with an ornamental border of leaves, and round this, about the hips, is a rich horizontally disposed bawdrick. Beneath the jupon, which is charged with the bearing—three garbs Or,—is seen the skirt or apron of mail. The thighs, knees, legs, and feet are encased in and protected by cuisses, genouillères, jambs, and sollerets, the latter composed of moveable laminæ or plates, and rounded at the toes. The feet of this effigy rest against a collared dog, and the head reposes on a tilting helm, surmounted by a bull's head as a crest. This effigy has been ascribed to a judge who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, Henry de Bath, who lived in the time of Henry III., and whose name occurs as late as 1260. It is, however, two centuries later in date, or nearly so, and does not present any feature in costume resembling that of a judge. From the armorial bearings on the side of the tomb, I think the person of whom this monument is a memorial might, with some research, be ascertained. On the scutcheon at the head of the tomb are these arms,—a fess between three garbs, impaling a chevron between three greyhounds.

Such are the principal monuments in Oxford Cathedral. Another high tomb, under the largest window in the north transept, of the reign of Henry the Sixth or Seventh, has shields charged with an inkhorn and penner, as if indicative of a notary. This memorial has been attributed by Browne Willis to James Souch, or Zouch, who died A.D. 1503. He directed, by his will, dated Oct. 16, 1503, and preserved in the Prerogative Office, London, that he should be interred under this window in the north transept, and a tomb to be erected for him in the midst of the same window. He also bequeathed 30*l.* to the convent for vaulting that part of the church, in consideration of his being there buried. The brass effigy and inscription have been torn away from his tomb.³

Whether the slab with matrices of two brasses, of a male and female, under the watch-chamber, misnamed the Shrine of St. Frideswide, is a memorial of the same or of an earlier period than that structure, may be a point open to discussion.

³ The inscription is given by Browne Willis, *Survey of Oxford Cathedral*, p. 458.

We have not the minutiae of costume to inform us, and merely the outline of the figure. That of the lady indicates the mitred head-dress, a fashion of the middle of the fifteenth century. The outline of the other is indicative of no particular period.

There are some brasses in the Cathedral, but these, with one exception, I do not now propose to notice, as they are not remarkable. The brass I shall mention is now concealed from view ; it is that of an ecclesiastic, James Coorthopp, Canon of Christ Church and Dean of Peterborough. He died in 1551. He is represented as habited in the *tunica talaris* or cassock, over which is worn the surplice with sleeves ; and over this, covering the breast and shoulders and hanging down on each side with two pendent bands in front, is the *almucium*, aumasse or amess, the furred tippet and hood. This is edged with “cattes tailles,” to use an old phrase of the sixteenth century.⁴

Of a monument in the south aisle of the choir, commemorating Robert Kyng, first Bishop of this See, who died 1557, little need be said. It is a recessed, canopied tomb, covered with shallow panel-work in minute divisions, but without any sculptured or incised effigy, and it is amongst the last works of the mediæval school of monumental architecture, at this period in its decline.

MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXHAM.

⁴ See Gough's Sep. Mon., vol. i. p. 45, pl. xiv.

ON THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ABBEY CHURCH OF DORCHESTER.¹

NEXT to the monuments of ancient art which our University itself contains, and second to none even of them, if we except the Cathedral and perhaps Merton Chapel, we may fairly rank, among the architectural remains coming within the scope of the present meeting, the Abbey Church of Dorchester. Its great size, its historical associations, its treasures of detail, conspicuous equally for rarity and beauty, form a combination of attractions surpassed by few existing buildings. And though to grace of outline and justness of proportion it can lay no claim whatever, yet this very deficiency forms a new ground of interest. What is lacking in beauty is made up in singularity, its ground-plan and general character being nearly unique among churches of the like extent and ecclesiastical dignity. Had I addressed you on this subject a year ago I should probably have said altogether unique, instead of nearly ; but the investigations which during that period it has been my good fortune to make among the little known and greatly undervalued architectural remains of South Wales, have revealed to me more examples bearing a

¹ The first and third sections of the following paper, or at least the greater part of them, were read at a meeting of the Architectural Section of the Institute at Oxford. The substance of the second was delivered as an extemporary lecture at Dorchester, to a large body of members of the Institute. The two other sections are printed nearly as they were read ; some parts of the second I have recast, to enable me to introduce several suggestions of importance made by Sir Charles Anderson, the Rev. J. L. Petit, the Rev. W. B. Jones, Mr. J. H. Parker, and others. Wherever it was possible, I have formally mentioned my obligations to those gentlemen ; but, in many cases, their remarks were so mingled up with my own observations of which they were modifications, or with further inferences of my own to which they led, that it would be almost impossible to disentangle the component parts of the theories in which they

resulted. I have also especially to thank Mr. Parker for communicating some observations subsequently made by Professor Willis. Anything proceeding from such an authority is so valuable that I trust the Professor will excuse my having thus availed myself of them without formal permission. I was also extremely pleased to find that while the Professor's inquiries explained several points of difficulty, and threw doubt on a few minor portions of my view, they completely coincided with my theory of the history of the building, in all its essential features.

I am extremely pleased to find that the money now in the hands of the Treasurer of the Architectural Society, owing to a collection made on the spot, and to other sources, is sufficient to extend some measure of repair to the north aisle ; at all events, to put some of the beautiful windows into a state of safety.

greater or less analogy to the subject of our inquiry than all my previous inquiries in other parts of England.

It is to these peculiarities to which I would now more especially draw the attention of the Institute. Dorchester Church was a few years back made the subject of an elegant volume published by the Architectural Society of this University. In that work two branches of the subject have been completely exhausted ; every document and historical reference bearing upon the vicissitudes of the city and abbey has been carefully brought together ; and the architectural details of the building have been described and engraved with the greatest minuteness, and, in almost every case, with the greatest accuracy. What is left for me on the present occasion is happily just what is most agreeable to my own taste, a general survey of the church regarded as a whole, and of its several parts as specimens of successive styles of architecture ; to which I may add an attempt to trace out the successive steps by which the building assumed its present form, from its foundation in the twelfth century to the great work of restoration commenced in the nineteenth.

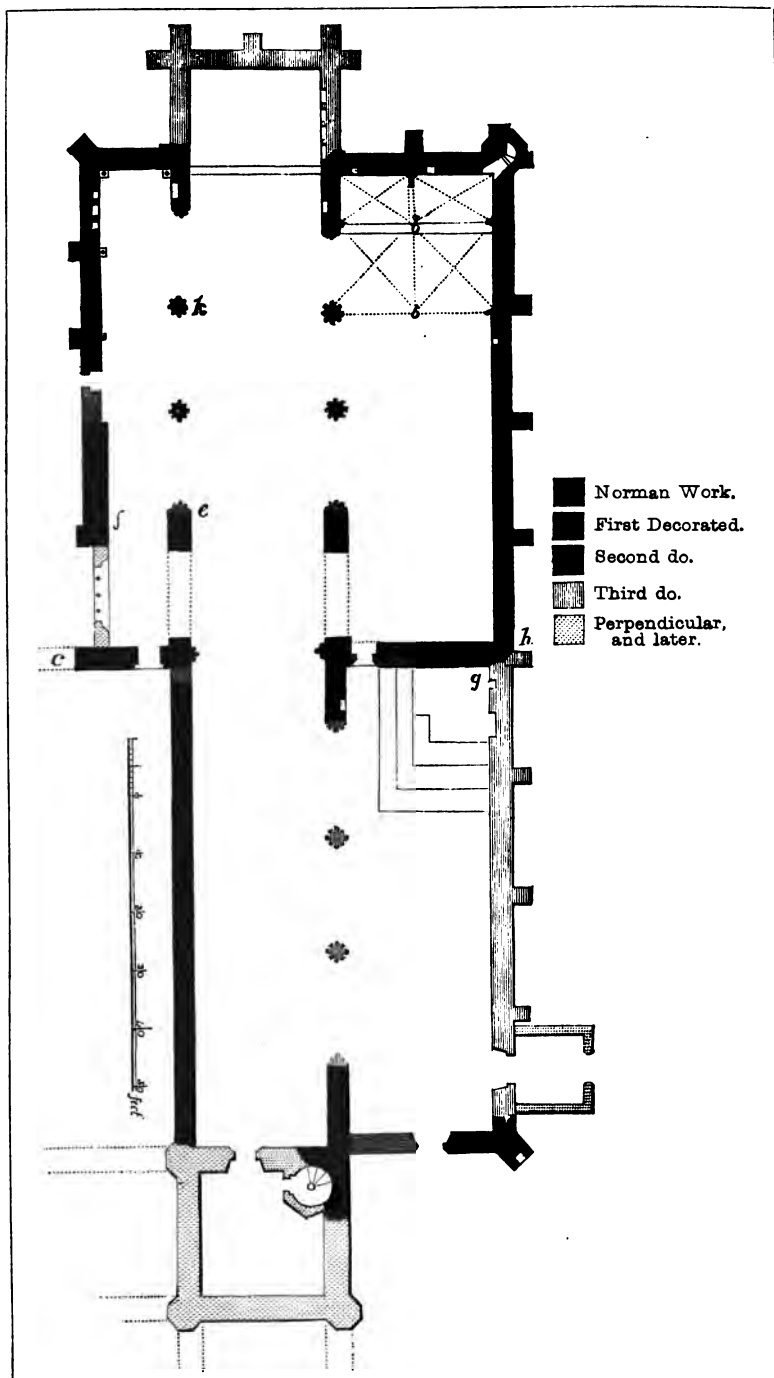
The history of Dorchester, its extensive Roman antiquities, its important place in the early ecclesiastical history of England, form no part of my present subject. Obscure as the place may now seem, there was a time when it was the seat of one of our greatest bishoprics, the fellow of Canterbury and York and Winchester. But those times had passed away before the present fabric, or even the foundation to which it belonged, had any existence. The present church can hardly be considered as in any sense the representative of that ancient Cathedral which was the mother church of a diocese extending, it is said, for a brief space over the whole of Mercia and Wessex. No portion of the present building is older than the translation of the see to Lincoln in the time of Lanfranc, or even than the re-establishment of the church in 1140 by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, as a Monastery of Black Canons.

§ 1.—*General Characteristics of the Building.*

The most striking point about the church is that, notwithstanding its great size, and ecclesiastical rank, it has in no respect the architectural character of a

Outline and
Ground Plan.

DORCHESTER ABBEY CHURCH, OXFORDSHIRE.



Ground Plan.

minster. In what that character consists, it is hard to say, but very easy to feel;² but it is clear that it is not possessed by Dorchester Abbey, while it is possessed in its fulness by many churches of the same, or even a much smaller size. We have the phenomenon of a church which, by its dimensions, might rank with Romsey and Bath, which not only is not cruciform, but which has no clerestory in any part of its length of above two hundred feet. From this it is clear that it does not so much as resemble a parish church even of the second order, much less such vast piles as Boston and St. Michael's, Coventry, which exhibit the parochial type on what I cannot but consider as an exaggerated scale. Dorchester is, in fact, a church of the very rudest and meanest order, as far as outline and ground-plan are concerned, developed to abbatial magnitude, and adorned with all the magnificence that architecture can lavish upon individual features. A nave with a single south aisle, a choir with an aisle on each side, a projecting presbytery, and a low and massive western tower, constitute the whole building. The length is unbroken by tower or transept; within, triforium, clerestory, and vault, are unknown. That such a pile is beautiful, few will argue; but it is strange, and awful, and solemn in the highest degree; and the inquirer might go far enough before he finds anything to surpass the consummate beauty of the choir arcades, or which, for singularity at least, if not for elegance, can be compared with the vast and wonderful east window which now again terminates the whole vista in renovated grandeur.

I remarked above that, though England has hardly any building which can be compared with this abbey, several examples, more or less analogous, may be found in Wales. There are not wanting points of resemblance between it and Llandaff Cathedral, as I have drawn out at some length in the remarks I have lately put forth on that church. And I have there remarked that where a church was, like Dorchester, at once parochial and conventual, it was not uncommon for the parochial element to prevail, and to give most of its character to the whole building.³ This is not uncommon in England, and still more frequent in Wales. Since I wrote

² See the Builder for 1852, p. 4, 117.

³ Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral, p. 9.

that account, I have seen a Welsh church which illustrates those remarks more fully than any with which I was then acquainted, and which affords a closer parallel to Dorchester than any other building that I have ever seen or heard of.

This is the Priory church of Monkton, in the suburbs of Pembroke, which really, in point of general effect, may be considered as Dorchester adapted to the ruder architecture of the district. The village churches of South Pembrokeshire are highly interesting ; though of the rudest character, they are always pleasing, often from their varied and picturesque outlines, always from their strange and slender towers, half fortresses, half campaniles. Within they are indeed possessed of the finish which is ordinarily denied to English village churches ; they are very generally vaulted with stone, but the vaulting is of such a character as only to produce fresh rudeness, giving the interior in many cases the appearance of a cavern rather than a church. Aisles are rare, and when they occur, the arcades are commonly of the roughest kind. In Monkton Church we have this type, adapted, one would have thought, only to the smallest and meanest chapels, developed to conventual proportions. If Dorchester, instead of the complicated ranges of arcades and clerestory usual in churches of its size, has merely aisles with distinct roofs, Monkton goes yet further ; it is without aisles at all, a mere nave and choir, with, as is not unusual in the district, a single transept. I did not measure the building, but to judge from the eye, it must be full a hundred and fifty feet long, Dorchester measuring about two hundred. A long dreary nave, as rough as those of the rudest village churches, with hardly a single window in its north side, remains as the parish church ; beyond this is a choir, now roofless, and deprived of all its ornamental work ; this must have been, when perfect, a fine specimen of Decorated architecture, but it is still only a parochial chancel on a large scale. The outline is more varied than that of Dorchester, as the tower, one of the ordinary Pembrokeshire type, is placed, as is not uncommon, at one side, in this case the south, being matched on the north by the transept now destroyed. A large ruined chapel stands close to the choir on the north side, looking from the south-east like an aisle to it, but having in reality distinct walls, and no direct communication with it, much

like the Lady Chapel at Ely, or the present chapter-house of St. David's.⁴

This church is, on the whole, the nearest parallel I know to Dorchester; and, allowing for the difference between Oxfordshire and Pembrokeshire, it may be thought a very exact one. Both were at once conventual and parochial—that the choir of Dorchester has not shared the fate of that of Monkton, or a worse, is due to an individual benefactor of the sixteenth century—in both the parochial element has swallowed up the conventual. The latter character is shown only in increased general size, and in the especially large proportions of the choir; in both it is merely the rudest type of village church which has swelled to this gigantic scale; so far from acquiring the character of a minster, it does not even approach to that of a large parish church.

That this fact diminishes from the positive beauty of these individual buildings requires no proof. Yet in the case of Dorchester the fact is far from being one to be regretted. If it were merely that the failure of these attempts to construct a large church on the plan of a small one, teaches us more forcibly than anything else the totally distinct character of the two types, the gain would be no slight one either for the theory or the practice of ecclesiastical architecture. But besides this, and besides the interest and pleasure called out by what is strange and unique, as well as by what is more strictly beautiful, the effect of this peculiar character of Dorchester Church on its individual portions is well worthy of our attention. We shall find that the very arrangements which detract from the beauty and just proportions of the whole greatly conduce to the striking appearance, sometimes even to the actual beauty, of individual parts. I will proceed to mention two or three illustrations of this, reserving the strongest case for the last.

For instance, the south view of the church is exceedingly imposing; the long extent of wall, broken only by the buttresses, and by the large and lofty windows, forms, meagre as is the tracery of the latter, one of the most striking ranges in existence. An extreme preponderance of any dimension, especially of length, is

⁴ From remains of arches and vaults against the north wall of the choir to the west of this chapel, it appears that con-

ventual buildings were attached to the church at this point.

always effective, even when not actually commendable. This is here gained by throwing the aisle of the nave and that of the choir into one unbroken range. The effect is better from their being thus unbroken ; mark the commencement of the choir by any difference of height or breadth, and the charm would be lost ; the ideas of vastness and unity presented by the present arrangement would be shattered, and the mere disproportionate excess of length would stand out in its natural deformity. The break produced by the interposition of a transept promotes the effect of unity, that effected by difference of size does quite the contrary. But besides the unbroken length, the unbroken height is to be taken into account. The absence of a clerestory, while it detracts nothing from the real grandeur of the effect of length, does in a manner correct the disproportion. I need not go about to show how the whole appearance would be marred if the height of the wall were divided between an aisle and clerestory, and cut up into two ranges of little windows. In such a case the excess of length which now disarms criticism by its bold and striking effect, would amount to a simple deformity. The present arrangement then secures this effect in its fulness ; it also produces a magnificent range of windows and buttresses, which, under any other circumstances, could only have occurred in a church of much greater positive size.

The east end again, whether strictly beautiful or not, is striking and majestic in the highest degree.

East End.

Now this also could hardly have assumed its peculiar character consistently with any other general arrangement of the church. For instance, if the choir had been vaulted, this superb window could never have possessed its present proportions, and any change in its proportions would at once destroy its whole character. The main idea of the east end, within and without, is clearly that it should be one mass of tracery, divided by the central buttress, which may very probably answer a constructive purpose, and which most certainly serves to enhance the effect of vastness. In no way could this be effected except by the forms of arch and gable employed ; with no other could so great an extent of wall have been occupied by the window. This hardly need to be shown at greater length. Now if the choir were vaulted, the window would lose about

a third of its height ; its proportions would thus be rendered intolerable, the width becoming excessive ; the present arrangement would have to be deserted. Externally also the window would no longer be the whole that it now is ; if the roof were high, there would be a gable window, turning it into a composition in stages, and destroying the whole unity of effect ; if it were low, besides the general loss in appearance, a spandril would remain a great deal too large for the animating idea of the design.

Again, the large projecting bay forming the presbytery, with the great windows on each side, is in itself a striking object, and greatly helps to set off the east window. Were it not thus recessed from the choir, but placed level with the eastern responds, half its grandeur would be gone. On the other hand it is no less clear that a very much deeper recess would tend to spoil the effect equally the other way. Now a little consideration will show that no other arrangement could so well have admitted of a recess of this particular size. If the choir had been designed on the usual plan with a clerestory, and such a recess been introduced, this bay must have had on each side either a blank space or a small window beneath the clerestory range, the bad effect of which may be estimated from the similarly recessed eastern bay in the Cathedral ; or, if large windows like the present had been introduced, the change of design in a single bay, not forming a distinct addition, like a Lady Chapel, would have been far from pleasing. But with the present quasi-parochial arrangement, the recessed bay is introduced without any difficulty, and indeed actually improves the outline. It gives, as I have just said, great additional internal majesty, and externally I think it is clear that the peculiar character of the east window would not have been so well carried out, had the addition of aisles made it merely a part of a front.

In like manner, the peculiar arrangement of the south choir aisle, another of the striking characteristics of the church, would have been altogether inadmissible in a building of the ordinary type. This portion of the fabric is even now extremely effective, though it has lost very much, both within and without, by its high gable having been destroyed, and its contemplated vaulting never having been

completed. This choir aisle is fully as large in every dimension as the choir alone, without the later addition of the presbytery; in breadth I think it exceeds it. It forms in fact a sort of second church of itself, and can in nowise be regarded as an ordinary aisle, a mere accessory and subordinate to the choir. Now whether this be or be not either justness of architectural proportion or propriety of ecclesiastical arrangement, it is beyond all question a source of extraordinary effect. The appearance of spaciousness produced is wonderful. But it is clear that such a structure as this could not have been introduced into an ordinary Cathedral or Conventual Church, without interfering in an unpleasant manner with its unity of design; once granting the peculiar arrangement of Dorchester Church, this was by far the most majestic form that it could have received. The absence of a clerestory involves a distinct roof to the aisle; how necessary this is may be shown by looking at the north aisle of this very choir, where the low wall and steep lean-to roof are only adapted to an edifice furnished with a clerestory. As the south aisle is rather the later of the two, the architect may reasonably be supposed to have taken warning by this failure. He built then his aisle with a distinct gable; but, once give an aisle a distinct gable, and its character is altogether changed; it is no longer the mere adjunct, dependent upon the larger building to which it is attached, and as it were crouching under its shadow: it at once assumes a character of independence, and must be treated accordingly. The builder at once grasped this idea; he gave his aisle the full dimensions of the choir, and we see what a majestic structure is the result.

And we may remark the pains taken to prevent the east ends of the presbytery and the aisle from presenting a double of each other. I am not here speaking with perfect historical exactness, as the present east end of the presbytery is later than that of the aisle; consequently whatever commendation is due on this score belongs to the architect of the former. There is a certain analogy between the two, so strong, that the earlier probably suggested the later; still there is a remarkable diversity, amounting even to contrast. In both there is an attempt to occupy the whole space, but in quite different ways; in the one it is by actually filling it up with an expanse of tracery; in the other by scattering distinct windows over its surface. In both we find the central buttress; but, while

in the presbytery it divides a single vast window, in the aisle it is placed between two of smaller size.

This arrangement is in fact only the greatest development of one by no means unusual in the smaller churches of the neighbourhood, during both the Early English and Decorated styles.⁵ A west front is often found consisting of a buttress running up between two small windows, either single lancets as at Ellesfield, or small two-light windows as at Wilcot and Clifton Hampden. The form is adapted only to a front without a tower, the buttress naturally running up to support a bell-cot. That at Wood-Eaton has suffered much by the subsequent addition of a tower. A similar front occurs at Wantage, but it is less pleasing, being carried out, without modification, on a scale much larger than that for which it is adapted. Besides that the buttress prevents the presence of a doorway, which the west front of a large cruciform church clearly demands, the windows, running up into the gable, just as in the smaller examples, leave an unpleasant space unoccupied below.⁶

The Wantage example failed from the architect not modifying the form to the requirements of its position. The designer of that at Dorchester succeeded by adapting the idea suggested by the village west fronts to the necessities of much larger dimensions, and an eastern position. In an east end his buttress was not required to support a bell-cot; to carry it up far into the gable without such a purpose would have been both useless, and, as that at Wantage proves, æsthetically unpleasing. Several small east ends occur,⁷ though I am not aware of any in the neighbourhood of Oxford, in which an arrangement is followed similar to the Oxfordshire west ends, except that the central buttress is finished much lower down, and a quatrefoil or similar figure pierced in the gable. In the east end at Dorchester, from its greater size, something of this kind is still more imperatively demanded. The width required much larger windows, and larger windows could not possibly run into the gable; they must, together with the central buttress,

⁵ See the author's *History of Architecture*, p. 358. This localism has been judiciously followed in the new chapel of Cuddesden Palace. Local peculiarities are too commonly neglected by modern architects.

⁶ For the first suggestion of the analogy between Dorchester and Wantage I have to thank the late President of Trinity.

⁷ See the author's *Essay on Window Tracery*, p. 6.

terminate at a point not higher than the level of the side walls. It follows then that some third figure must occupy the gable, just as in the smaller examples just mentioned. Unfortunately the gable has been destroyed, so that we cannot recover the exact nature of the original arrangement. But certainly that best adapted to the position would be a single window, rather smaller than those below, and forming a triangle with those below. The front would thus exhibit, in a later style, and on a larger scale, the same principle as the west end of Llanbadarn-fawr in Cardiganshire, or the east end of Barming in Kent. That such *was* the original composition, I will not positively affirm ; I only say that it would be much the most appropriate one, and that I cannot think that the small square-headed openings on each side, at all prove that it was not really that employed.

Now within it is clear that such a composition would not have the same good effect as without ; a gable window is something essentially external, in no wise calculated to form any part of an inside view ; if it were merely because, in a building of this size, it proclaims itself as being over a vaulted or other ceiling. Hence, instead of the high-pitched open roof, rendered necessary in the choir by the nature of its east window, the aisle must be vaulted, so as to exclude the gable composition. But it would be hard to find any of the ordinary forms of vaulting which would appropriately cover so wide a space with two windows at the end. Something would have been wanting in the head, which the external arrangements could not have permitted ; and it may be doubted whether, with any sort of roof, the two windows, side by side, with no such provision as the buttress provides without, could ever have been an agreeable arrangement.⁸ This difficulty was avoided by using a single bay of sexpartite vaulting—sexpartite at least as far as the east wall is concerned—over the eastern bay ; by this means flatness is avoided, and no space left unoccupied, each window fits into its own cell, and the vaulting-shaft runs up between them within, just as the buttress does without. The arrangement is the same which is adopted, and apparently for the same reason, over the eastern bay of the choir of St. Cross. We can there judge of its actual effect, and, though decidedly open to the objection that it is a sort of mimicry of an

⁸ See the next note.

apsidal termination, yet it is clearly the best design that could have been adopted under the circumstances ; the best internal finish for a front divided into *two* vertical compartments. At Dorchester, however, as I said before, the vaulting unluckily has never been completed, so that we have nothing beyond the arches traced out for it. Its general effect one can of course pretty well appreciate, but one would wish to know how one point would have been managed. The vaulting system extends only over the two eastern bays, there being no traces of it whatever in the western part of the aisle. It is difficult to understand how the vaulted and vaultless divisions can have been harmonised together, as there is no trace of any arch between them. It follows of course that a void space must have been left above the vaulting at its west end, which must have been unpleasing, whatever means might have been taken to fill it up. There is a somewhat similar one in Ely Cathedral, where it is filled up with tracery ; and, though of much smaller extent than this at Dorchester would have been, the effect is by no means satisfactory.⁹

In all these cases the peculiar character of the building has
Arcades of allowed, and sometimes even required, the introduc-
Choir. tion of individual features of unique character and extreme splendour, for which no place could have been found in a church designed upon either of the ordinary types. We have finally to observe the most remarkable instance of all, in which, what in a general criticism of the building we must consider a defect, proves the means of introducing a feature which, in its own class, is very nearly unrivalled. The extreme splendour of the arches on each side of the

⁹ I have left the above passage as it was written originally, as it expresses the view which I think would, at first sight, occur to any one, and the criticism it contains appears to be, in its main features, a just one. I must, however, state a suggestion made to me by Sir Charles Anderson, which, I am now convinced, contains the true solution of the whole matter. He remarked that the appearance of the springing of the transverse arch from the first pillar across the aisle (marked *a* in the ground-plan) is such that it could hardly have been that of one spanning the whole aisle. He conceives then that the system of vaulting included two pillars (at *b b*) so that it would consist of four bays

of quadripartite vaulting, the eastern pair being much the narrower. Each of the altars, which doubtless occupied the east end, would thus have stood under its own distinct vault ; and at the west end would have been a complete couplet of arches, such as forms the entrance into several Lady Chapels, so that the difficulty of connecting the two forms of roof would not occur. But as the vaulting was clearly never added, it is very possible that these pillars were not really erected ; or, if they were, it is probable that they would be removed as incumbrances, whenever the intention of vaulting was finally surrendered. An examination of the foundations might probably settle the question.

choir must strike every one who contemplates them even in an engraving, much more in all the majesty of their actual presence. Their beauty is not at all derived from mere ornament, for, though all their detail is well and elaborately wrought, and the section of the arch-mouldings is very complicated, yet there is no great amount of actual enrichment even here, and the pillars, where we should certainly have looked for floriated capitals, are without that most effective of enrichments. Their real merit consists in their perfect proportion, the exquisitely balanced relation between the arch and its pier, and the beautiful form of the former. Now we may at once see that these arches could have stood nowhere but where they do, in a church of large size, but without a clerestory. From a common village church of course their size would exclude them; in most churches with the same height in the wall as Dorchester, we find a clerestory, which would at once cut down the dimensions of the arches. Nor can we conceive arches of exactly this proportion carrying a clerestory in a church of greater height. They would never do, like some other forms, such as the tall Perpendicular pillar with its lower and narrower arch, to carry a *low* clerestory. The span and shape of the arch alone might not be amiss in such grand compositions as the presbyteries of Lincoln and Ely; but in this case the superincumbent mass would require a far more massive pier, and so completely destroy their effect. In fact no other arrangement could have admitted this arcade; no other arcade would have suited so well with the arrangement employed. They are, on the whole, considered simply as arcades, the finest I know, and their beauty is wholly the result of that capital error in the general design, the omission of the clerestory. Arches of not dissimilar proportion are found, from the very same reason, in the choir of Stafford Church, which has the advantage over Dorchester of a much longer vista. Though no more suited to bear a clerestory than these at Dorchester, they had been compelled to groan under one of the poorest character, which our own times have seen happily removed.

§ 2.—*Architectural History.*

Having thus contemplated the effects produced on the several parts of the building by the peculiarities of its general arrangement, we will now proceed to the second part of our subject, the history of the fabric. And I imagine that in so doing we shall easily find the key to those peculiarities. Dorchester, like Llandaff, is an instance of a church growing up from small dimensions to a considerable size, without any thorough reconstruction either of the whole or of any essential portion. And it is to this circumstance that each owes its peculiar character. But, with this striking analogy in their general history, in its minuter circumstances we shall find but little resemblance, except the accidental circumstance that in both the whole extent of the Decorated period was a season of extraordinary activity, while there is very little work of a later date. At Llandaff also the changes which the fabric has undergone are of the most complicated and perplexing character ; while the history of Dorchester, since the time when we can first call it complete, is comparatively simple ; additions have been numerous, but, for the most part, they are merely additions, with no reconstructions or insertions of any importance. Also at Dorchester there has been comparatively little extension in the way of length, while Llandaff has received the addition of that stately Early English nave, built almost entirely to the west of the original Norman church, on which it grounds its best pretension to an architectural rank equal to its ecclesiastical.

We have then the explanation ; no one would sit down and design such a church as either Llandaff or Dorchester is at present. An original architect would probably have preferred to produce something of the comparatively humble scale of Llanbadarn or Leonard Stanley. But in both cases successive benefactors, finding an originally small fabric, and, adding to it each after his own taste, with but little reference to other portions, have gradually produced what we now see ; only at Llandaff the addition of the nave gave an opportunity of constructing one important part of the church on the full cathedral type, which at Dorchester never occurred.

No part of Dorchester church is older than its refoundation as a monastic establishment by Bishop Alexander in 1140. No trace remains of the original cathedral, or of the buildings commenced by Remigius before the removal of the see to Lincoln. Indeed I greatly doubt the existence, in the present church, of any work of so early a date as Alexander himself. The most distinctive features of the earliest work now remaining, Mr. Addington truly says, cannot be earlier than about 1180. Probably till then the Saxon cathedral remained in use as the Abbey Church. This will appear from several considerations. Remigius is said to have begun to build; but whatever he built, which, after all, need not have been a new cathedral, he left unfinished. The old cathedral, or part of it, would doubtless stand till the new one had advanced some way towards perfection. Now, between Remigius and Alexander, we might fancy the Saxon cathedral pulled down, but we can hardly fancy another church built. From Alexander we should naturally have looked for a new church; but he does not appear to have built one; at least the oldest work in the present is forty years after his foundation, and one can hardly imagine a church of his erection being swept away so very soon. Unless then the monks of Dorchester went on for forty years without any church at all, we must suppose that the Saxon cathedral survived the loss of its rank about a hundred years, and was immediately succeeded by a Transitional Norman building not earlier than 1180.

To ascertain the exact nature and extent of this, the first building with which our architectural history is concerned, is the question of most difficulty which we shall meet with in the course of our inquiries; and even here, it is tolerably plain sailing through a good half of its dimensions. The nave was clearly co-extensive with the present one, but the extent of the chancel is less certain.

The portion which fixes the date of the original church is the chancel-arch of Transitional date; its band being continued as a string both to the east and west, shows the whole to be of one piece. The north wall of the nave remains untouched, except by the insertion of windows and a doorway. The two large Decorated windows are quite near the east end, and, while the cloister remained against this side

of the nave, must, from their height in the wall, have had very much the appearance of a clerestory. But by far the greater part of the wall is left blank; possibly in the original nave there were no windows at all on the north side.¹ If there were any, they must, from the level of the string, have been placed quite as high in the wall as the present ones, and from the same cause, namely the position of the cloister, just as at Leonard Stanley. On the south side the string is continued a little way, but is cut through by the arches into the subsequent south aisle. The Norman nave then was without aisles, and exactly corresponded with the present one.

Going east of the chancel arch, we find the Norman walls of the nave continued for a little way on each side, and marked by the same string. A rude arch on each side has been cut through the wall, but evidently, as Mr. Addington says, at quite a late period. There was originally a solid wall on each side up to the point where the Decorated arches of the choir now commenced.² The south wall was an external one, and the external plinth may still be seen in the south aisle. But to the north there was a building attached which had a west door opening to the cloister, which still remains. At present this is part of the north choir aisle; but we must remember that, when originally built, there was a solid wall between it and the choir, so that, whatever it was, it was not in strictness an aisle. This part of the church has been much tampered with by the insertion of a late and ugly window, and the addition of an awkward buttress (at *c*), apparently when the cloisters were destroyed. Probably some considerable portion of the conventual buildings abutted upon the church at this point.

Thus much is the whole extent of the undoubtedly Transitional work, contemporaneous with the chancel arch. The extent and finish of the choir is not clear from our evidence. Did it actually terminate at this point, possibly with the addition of an apse? or was it continued to a considerable distance eastwards? Mr. Addington has marked out as the eastern boundary of the Norman choir a point (*d*) to which we shall have again to refer; but we shall soon see that if

¹ At Monkton there is only one window in the north side of the nave, in the position occupied at Dorchester by the Decorated

insertions. Did they supplant a similar one?

² This wall is expressed in the plan by dotted lines.

it extended thus far, it must have extended very much further. The Norman choir either stopped where the Norman strings terminate at *e* or else reached as far as the present east ends of the choir aisles. The most probable view is that a small choir such as suggested above was originally designed, but that, during the progress of erection, the design was altered, and the choir carried out on a much grander scale, with such little advance of style as the length of time required for carrying out so great a design almost necessarily involved.

I ground this belief on two facts, each of which appear to me to prove one half of it. That such an extended choir was carried out at a period not very distant from that of the erection of the nave is shown by the certain traces of it which still remain. But that such a choir was an after-thought, not a part of the original design, is, perhaps, not absolutely proved, but at least rendered extremely probable, by circumstances tending to show that the point (*e*) where the Norman string terminates, is no arbitrary break, but marks some constructive division of the church.

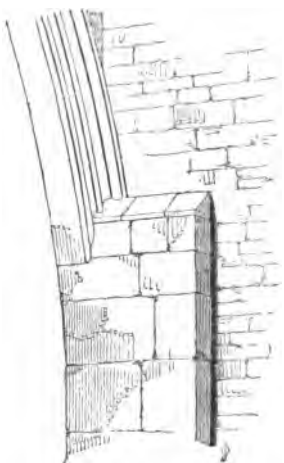
First, it will be observed that at this point an entire change takes place in the external wall on the north side. It is not continued of the same width, but the eastern portion is very much thicker, the excess being external. An arch also, having, as Mr. Addington observes, "much of Early English character," is here thrown across the aisle (at *f*), dividing the original Norman building attached to the choir from the aisle added to the east of it. Again, the course followed by the Decorated architect when the splendid arches of the choir were added, might possibly tend to show that the Norman wall did not continue any further than it does at present. For in that case one does not see why he should not have cut a fourth arch through the part where the round arch has since been cut, rather than leave a blank wall to the great disfigurement of his choir. For though the arch across the north aisle would ³ have prevented a perfectly continuous arcade, yet the difficulty might have been obviated by the employment of a more massive pier

³ This arch, as we shall presently see, is contemporary with the north arcade, at all events part of the same design, though perhaps actually erected earlier. But if it was thought that the difference in the wall

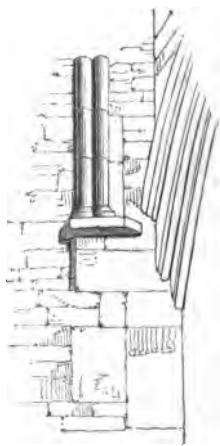
at this point required to be cloked by an arch, it would, even if absolutely contemporary, have had just the same effect on the design of the arcade as if it had been found previously existing.

—one for instance formed of two responds—at this particular point, as is often done in similar cases.

It is therefore most probable that the choir was originally designed to terminate—allowing, perhaps, as was before said, for an apse—at this point. But the extent of the actual choir, which, on this ground, I consider to be an afterthought, is quite certain. There can be no doubt, though the fact is one which, as far as I am aware, has hitherto been unnoticed, that the choir was extended as far as the present termination of the choir aisles at some time during the transition from the Norman to the Early English style. It will be remembered that the north choir aisle is transitional from Early English to Decorated, certainly not later than the time of Edward I. Now looking attentively at the east end of this aisle, we shall find that it is built up against a flat pilaster buttress (*a a*), which has clearly formed part of an east end of the choir. A portion of the pilaster may also be discerned inside, where it has been cut away. In the corresponding position on the south side a similar buttress may be traced, though less distinctly; its set-off may be seen, and also the way in which the masonry of the aisle has been worked into its original quoin. Just above the buttress may be clearly traced part of a clustered angle-shaft and the string below, the projection of the latter making its angular position distinctly visible.⁴ Besides this, in taking down the masonry which formerly blocked the circle in the head of the east window, there was found a stone with tooth-moulding on it, which



Norman Pilaster, N.E. Angle of Original Choir.



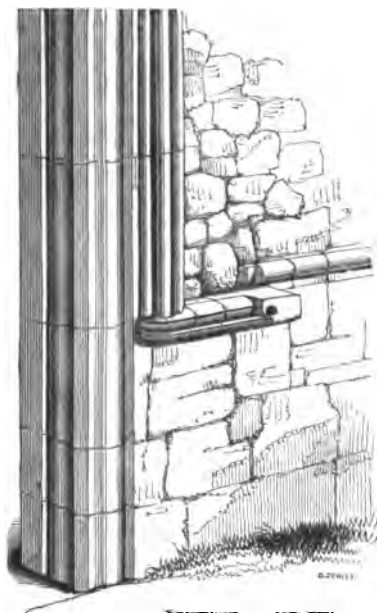
Remains of Norman Turret, S.E. Angle of Original Choir.

⁴ For a more complete explanation of these appearances—I believe the first actual observation of them on both sides I

may fairly claim to myself—I have to thank my friend Mr. Jones.

apparently formed part of a jamb. We may therefore conclude that at one time the choir terminated at this point with an Early English front, flanked by pilasters, that to the south (as being on the show side) carried up into an ornamental turret, and that some of its windows or arcades were enriched with tooth-moulding; and that this front existed before the present north aisle was added.

In the external wall of the north aisle there is also a considerable extent of masonry, which seems to belong to a period intermediate between the original Norman erection and the early Decorated work of the greater portion of that aisle: this includes the western bay of the aisle, reckoning from the transverse arch at *f*. A little westward of its doorway is a most conspicuous break in the wall, with a change of string (at *d*); somewhat clumsily effected, as they are not on the same level. Internally also we can distinctly observe the seam, and trace the original wall in its basement, the thickness having been, as Mr. Addington remarks, diminished during the Decorated reconstruction. That is, this part of the wall was rebuilt from the string, while to the east of this point it is an original Decorated erection.



Junction of Norman and Decorated Work.
North Aisle of Choir.

From this we may infer that the choir, whose east end we have just discovered, had, or was designed to have, a north aisle; but as it is clear from the remains of the east end that it could not have extended so far eastward as the ends of the present aisles, we may most probably conclude that it reached as far as the point where the masonry breaks in the north wall, and no further. If we suppose an arch, or two small arches, dividing the choir and its north aisle, where the westernmost of the three Decorated arches now stands, while the

eastern part of the choir had merely an external wall, one can understand better why the Decorated architect should bring this whole space within the scope of his new arrangement, and leave the Norman wall to the west untouched, than why he should cut through the Norman wall up to a certain point and there leave off. The irregularity of the arches would be a greater eyesore than the mere blank wall beyond the whole range. Again, as he reconstructed the whole north aisle from the Early English transverse arch at *f*, this involved a change in the choir from that point eastward; while to make any alterations to the west of it might have been very desirable in itself, but had no connexion with the particular design which occupied the mind of the brotherhood or their architect at that particular moment.

The second idea of the church then included a choir with its new portion commencing from what we may imagine to have been designed as the chord of the original apse, with a north aisle extending along about half its length. Whether it had any south aisle or not we have no certain means of judging. But though we may fairly consider this as, in idea at least, a second form of the church, it seems on the whole most probable that it never actually existed distinct from the first. We must remember how very late is the character of the Norman work, fast verging upon Early English; while the scanty remains of the choir, in their pilaster buttresses and angle-shafts, are hardly more advanced in character. No great extent of time could have elapsed between the two. We may then on the whole most probably conclude that though this extended choir was the second in idea, it was the first in existence after the days of Alexander; most likely, as was above suggested, the short Norman choir was never finished, but the design was changed in its progress, and continued on a more extended form, in a slightly advanced style.

The third period embraces the Decorated changes, which have had so permanent an effect upon the appearance of the building, introducing all its most rare and beautiful features, and bringing it in its most essential portions to its condition immediately to those days of destruction whose works we are now endeavouring to undo. In this, as I have before remarked, it

Decorated
Additions:

resembles Llandaff, as also in the circumstance that the Decorated alterations were not effected all at once ; in each three distinct stages may be traced : but there is this important difference, that at Llandaff all the work of this age was executed from one general design, with merely the changes of detail consequent upon the gradual manner in which it was carried out, whereas at Dorchester there is no such general design ; there is certainly a clear attempt to bring each of the two later portions into harmony with that which immediately preceded it ; but the differences between them are not merely in detail ; each retains a remarkable independence, and, as it were, isolation from the rest.

The first portion of the Decorated work includes the greater part of the north aisle (all, in fact, except the portion of earlier masonry in its western bay), together with the three grand arches on the north side of the choir. The style here is rather to be considered as Transitional, than as fully developed Decorated ; the windows indeed contain complete Geometrical tracery, and, except in the eastern one, not of the very earliest kind ; but much of the detail is hardly removed from Early English ; the shafts against the wall have square plinths ; the tooth-moulding occurs in their capitals and in those of some of the jamb-shafts of the windows ; the east window, the diagonal buttress at the north-east angle, and the transverse arch already mentioned, might all, taken by themselves, pass for Early English. Yet there is no occasion to suppose them to be parts of any other design ; they were probably merely the first instalments of a design which took a considerable time to accomplish, and of which the great arcade and the tracery of the windows are the latest. In other respects too, the details of this whole aisle are well worthy of attention, both from their singularity and beauty. For instance, there is an early instance of a doorway with a square-headed label ;⁵ the same also presenting a singular and extremely unpleasant example of the discontinuous impost. This is the strongest case of a tendency towards that disagreeable form which is continually recurring throughout the church at most of the

⁵ One still earlier, and with a still more complete anticipation of Perpendicular, is

found among the conventual buildings of Gloucester Cathedral.

periods of its architecture.⁶ The tracery of the windows on the north side is also a valuable study, two of them presenting singularities in the way of filling up the circle in the head. The aisle seems never to have been designed for vaulting; its steep lean-to roof has been already commented on. There are shafts, already mentioned, against the north wall, but far too low to be connected with any vault or other roof; they were doubtless designed for pillar brackets.

Besides this north aisle of the choir, there is reason to believe that a south aisle to the nave was commenced at this time, though only commenced. The present south aisle is indeed, in its most important features, both within and without, of a later date, and we shall presently have to consider it at length. But it contains one very important portion which can hardly fail to belong to this first stage of the Decorated enlargement. Its west end, though now wretchedly defaced and mutilated, must have originally been not the least attractive portion of the church, and, from its peculiar arrangements, it derived unusual importance. It was in fact the west front of the church, as some of the con-

West Front of
South Aisle;

⁶ It will be remembered that this doorway is placed immediately east of the seam in the wall and change of string at *d*. The Decorated string here has a curious appearance at the point where it terminates, or rather commences, as if it had been intended to continue it along some building at right angles to the wall of the church. There is, however, this difficulty, that no important part of the conventual buildings could possibly have joined the church at this point, as they would have interfered with the window to the west, and would also most probably have left some trace of their presence. On the other hand, one cannot imagine why a mere breast-wall, which is all that seems capable of having existed, or being designed here, should have been so elaborately treated, or so studiously identified with the church, as by this continuation of the string.

It has indeed been suggested to me, and that on the very highest authority, that there was, or was to be, a porch over this doorway, and I therefore infer, that this string would have been continued along the inner face of the western wall. From this opinion I must beg leave to dissent. A porch in such a position, though, I believe, not unique—I do not distinctly remember whether that at Wimborne Minster is original or otherwise—is certainly extremely unusual; and this

particular doorway, from its whole character, and its intimate connexion with the strings, windows, &c., seems peculiarly ill-suited to such a finish. A porch of any sort could hardly fail to have cut through the window above, whose cill comes down immediately upon the head of the doorway. Again, if the string were turned to be carried along its western wall, a similar treatment would doubtless have been applied to its eastern also; and there is no break or other noticeable appearance in the string to the east of the doorway. It seems to me perfectly clear that no porch was ever actually erected, and I cannot bring myself to believe that any was ever contemplated; at all events, not when the aisle was built, an opinion which would seem involved in any argument built upon the appearance of the string.

It is to be noticed that on either side of the window over this doorway is a vertical string, projecting from the wall like a label, running up a considerable portion of the height of the jamb. It is not quite clear whether they were continued to join the label of the window: if so, the effect must have been very bad. These strings, which are not easily understood on any view, but which form an additional argument against the porch theory, are not correctly given—a rare instance of inaccuracy—in Mr. Addington's engraving.

ventual buildings must have come close up against the tower. It has a west door, and over that a large window which is now completely built up, so that it can only be seen from within. At the angle is a very fine buttress, almost amounting to a turret, with niches, high pediments, pinnacles, etc. Now, it so happens, as Mr. Addington has observed, that the details both of this buttress and of the west window are altogether dissimilar to anything in the rest of the aisle, and appear at least as early as the south choir aisle, to which they present a much greater resemblance. Indeed he might have safely gone still further, and pronounced them to be contemporary with the *north* choir aisle.⁷ The whole detail of the buttress and window, especially the square plinths to its internal jamb-shafts, might be safely called Early English. Probably a south aisle was commenced, but was carried no further than the west wall ; this part remaining unfinished, while the greater works were being effected in the choir. We shall only observe in this place that this front received some alterations, to be hereafter described, during the later Decorated changes.

The second portion of Decorated work includes the great south choir aisle, with the southern arcade. This South Choir Aisle ; must have followed upon the completion of the other with very little intermission. The style is somewhat more advanced, and is now confirmed Decorated, but it still retains quite the character of Early Gothic, in its marked distinctness of parts, the bold shafts, deep mouldings, bands, &c. The arcades on each side the choir are identical in general effect, the architect of the south aisle having evidently intended to bring his work, in this respect, into the most perfect harmony with that of his predecessor ; but on a more minute examination, differences of detail may be discovered, some of which have been pointed out by Mr. Addington. The section of the piers is not identical, and the bases are very different ; the later ones having more numerous mouldings, as well as much bolder and more projecting plinths, all of which also are octagonal, while on the north side that of every alternate member is round. Those on the north side, however, are not identical among themselves.

The two eastern windows of this aisle belong to the same

⁷ They resemble it more nearly in general character ; yet the string on the buttress is one used in the south choir aisle, but not occurring in the north.

general type as those on the north side, but they have peculiarities of their own rendering them well worthy of examination. The occurrence of a spherical triangle as the centre-piece of a subarcuated window is by no means usual, and it is accompanied by that strange, though much less uncommon, form which I have elsewhere,⁸ for want of a better name, denominated spiked foliation. Those on the south side have Intersecting tracery, to which the round foils of the piercings in the head give somewhat of the character of Arch and Foil.⁹

I have already commented on the most remarkable features of this aisle, considered as a part of the general composition and arrangement of the church. Its extent westward is clearly marked, as its west wall still remains perfect; for when the south aisle of the nave, in its present form, was added to the west of it, the two were not, as usual, connected by an arch, but they were separated by a blank wall, the only approach from one to another being by a small doorway. This strange proceeding was probably occasioned by a ritual consideration; the very elevated altar-platform just west of this wall might not have been so well introduced, had the two aisles been architecturally continuous; but a greater æsthetical blunder can hardly be conceived, than this complete blocking off of one portion of the building from another.

The church then, as standing for a while complete at this point, consisted of a nave without aisles, a choir with an aisle on each side, that to the south of almost unparalleled dimensions. We must remember that the choir at this time did not project eastward beyond the aisles, so that the termination of the choir and the two aisles were embraced in one continuous eastern front. In this extensive range were comprised three somewhat heterogeneous elements; the two large gabled extremities of the choir and its south aisle, of much the same height and breadth—though with the advantage in the latter respect somewhat on the side of the aisle—the one with its Decorated windows, the other, we may conceive, with a composition of lancets; and finally the small lean-to of the north aisle. Now this last must have looked like a mere insignificant excrescence, and must have given the whole an unpleasing effect of irregularity. And indeed

⁸ Essay on Tracery, p. 79.

⁹ Ibid, 55; 46, note o.

the other two grand compositions must have lost much from their position ; they were both intended to stand out independently as the terminations of distinct buildings, not to form mere component parts of a single extended front.

Again, the great size and grandeur now assumed by the choir and its accessories must have tended to throw the nave into complete insignificance. We may also doubt whether the south choir aisle, standing distinct with a soaring high roof, could have been at all a satisfactory object. A similar arrangement on quite a small scale is pleasing and effective, as improving the picturesque outline ; but on the vast scale on which it was here presented, it could only have caused the exaggeration of a smaller type to have been even more strongly felt than at present.

These two deficiencies then probably caused the additions which constitute the third period of Decorated work ; having suggested the prolongation of the choir to its present extent, and rendered still more imperative the addition commenced some time before of an aisle to the south of the nave. I place these together, as they cannot be very far removed from each other in point of date, and are so manifestly remedies for the faults of the structure as completed by the preceding additions. But there is no particular resemblance in the work of the two, or any reason to believe that they formed in any sense parts of the same design. Most probably one was the work of the convent, the other of the parish ; and in this we may perhaps find a key to the strange obstruction between the nave aisle and choir aisle. Forming, as they apparently did, altogether distinct chapels, one belonging to the conventual, the other to the parochial establishment, their independence and isolation may be a little better understood.

A south aisle then was now added to the nave. The contrast between its internal and external arrangements is very striking. I have just remarked its extreme isolation within from the choir aisle to the east of it. Outside, on the other hand, the two form one continuous range. The seam, indeed, where the masonry of the two dates is united, is perceptible enough, and a more minute examination will show that the details of the two portions are by no means identical. They are, however, so well harmonised together, that the first impression of every visitor would be that they

South Aisle
of Nave;

formed parts of one uniform design. In comparing, however, a bay of the choir aisle and one of the nave aisle, we shall find that though the proportion and general effect is unaltered, a considerable change of style had taken place in the interval between their erection. The sharp pedimental head of the buttress has been exchanged for a very long set-off, and indeed the whole air of the buttresses, when minutely examined, is very different. The size of the windows and the lines of their tracery remain as nearly the same as possible, but in the foliations we may remark the minute, yet not unimportant difference already alluded to. The mouldings too, are totally different; the deeply moulded architrave rising with a discontinuous impost from the chamfered jamb is exchanged for a form of later and more meagre character, that variety of the ogee which Mr. Paley calls the wave-moulding; one, I may remark, almost monotonously prevalent in the Decorated work in St. David's Cathedral. Similarly, within, the bold distinct jamb-shaft of the choir aisle has given way to a mere slender bowtell with a capital. In like manner the three arches which divide this aisle from the nave, though evidently adaptations to those in the choir, are of a later and inferior character. They would by themselves be called extremely fine arches, but compared with the others, they are far less pleasing both in proportion and detail. The pier is too slender, of quite another section, and with a rather awkward base; the arch mouldings, too, are not nearly so rich, and exhibit an approach to the Perpendicular cavetto. Other differences will be found externally in the section of the strings, in the labels of the windows being terminated with heads, while in the choir aisle they are continued as a string, and in the presence of a distinct basement-moulding.

The south wall of this aisle, and the arcade within, present no difficulty, and require little comment. The latter was cut through the Norman wall, which remains to the east and west of it. But the junction of the work of this period with the earlier portions to the east and west presents some remarkable features. At the east end we have the blank wall already spoken of, which is clearly part of the work of the choir aisle, as is proved by the string of the latter being continued along its eastern wall. In this wall we have a window and a doorway, usually considered to have been the

original west window and doorway of the choir aisle before the addition of that to the nave. The window is, on any showing, a difficulty. It is now, as will be remembered, blocked; on the eastern side it leaves no trace, but it has a western face of the most remarkable meagreness, quite unlike anything else in the church, and such as one can hardly conceive to have been the original condition of the principal window of a building so highly finished as is this aisle. Moreover, this rude opening, ill proportioned, without moulding, without splay, looks at least as much like an internal as an external face. Yet, as the wall belongs to the eastern and not to the western chapel, the internal face of a strictly external window it can never have been. It might possibly have been designed as a window between the two chapels, left incomplete, or subsequently blocked. Fenestriform perforations of solid walls between the different parts of a church, though rare, are not unknown. A very graceful example occurs in the chancel of Rushden church, Northamptonshire.¹

With regard to the doorway, I for a long time supposed, in common with Mr. Addington, and, I believe, with the generally received opinion on the subject, that it was an original external doorway to the eastern chapel, previous to the addition of the western. But repeated examinations have convinced me that it was cut through the wall after the addition of the latter. In character it agrees much more closely with the later work to the west than with the earlier work to the east. Its label is of a late section, which does not occur in the eastern chapel, but forms the external string of the western. In its jambs too we find the same wave-moulding, employed in the windows of the latter, but unknown in the older work. Again its position, thrust into a corner, is not what we would expect for an external doorway, which would, moreover, have been for some while a principal entrance into the church, and, as far as effect is concerned, the substitute for a western portal. How different its treatment would have been in such a case, we may judge from the prominent position and ornamental character of that in the existing west front of the aisle. It is clearly thrust into its place to make room for the great altar platform (at *g*), and is a mere passage from one chapel into the other.

¹ Engraved in the Northamptonshire Churches.

In like manner, in St. David's Cathedral, the approach from the nave aisles into the transepts is not, as usual, by open arches, but by doorways exactly analogous to this, and similarly having their external face to the west, as indeed is but natural.

The external juncture of the two chapels also presents some apparent difficulties. I have already alluded to the perceptible break in the masonry between them (at *h*). The appearance presented at first sight is that of an eastern buttress to the western chapel with the wall of the eastern chapel built up against it. But besides that this is rendered impossible by the relative dates of the two chapels, otherwise distinctly proved, the piecing in the upper part of the wall is such as to show that it can hardly be a real buttress so treated. In part of the seam, however, we may most certainly discern a quoin to the west with rubble built up against it to the east. This would, at first sight, seem to show that this wall is older than the south aisle of the choir. Yet in another part of the same seam the respective positions of the rubble and ashlar are reversed; which brings the evidence back to where it before stood. The key to these perplexing appearances has been supplied by Professor Willis. The traces are traces of a buttress, not however of an eastern buttress of the western chapel, but of another of the pedimented buttresses of the eastern one, destroyed at the time of the western addition. A little consideration will readily show that its removal, and the consequent patching, might easily account for all the appearances already recounted.

At the west end also, some alterations were made in the front previously erected. I am indebted to the same high authority quoted in the last paragraph for the fact that the small buttresses were now added to the turret in a different stone. Perhaps also the small pinnacles were added or tampered with. A western doorway was inserted, exactly similar to that in the south wall. The external string over this is of the later form, the same as that employed on the south wall, while the original one, similar to that of the south choir aisle, is preserved on the turret.²

² The juncture of these strings is effected far more artificially than the similar change in the north choir aisle; at both points of contact they are worked in the

same stone. It has been ingeniously remarked by Mr. Jones, that the later string, which contains a cavetto, might have been hollowed out of the elder one.

The last instalment of the Decorated enlargement consisted of that eastern addition to the choir, which constitutes the presbytery of the church, and forms one of its most magnificent portions. I have already commented on the æsthetical grounds, both of internal and external effect, to which this great change was probably due. No such extension of the church in this direction could have been contemplated during the earlier Decorated changes, as a piscina of that date (i) marks the original site of the high altar just against the old east wall. A presbytery perhaps existed screened off within the choir, as appears from marks against the base of the first pillar. A screen in a similar position still remains in St. David's Cathedral.

There is probably no existing building which shows a greater number of singularities crowded together in a small compass than this eastern bay. The large windows by which it is lighted are all of a very singular character; each has its own peculiarities, but two remarkable characteristics extend through all three: one is a tendency to carry the tracery through the whole window, instead of confining it as usual to the head; the other to mix up with the actual tracery sculptured figures and other details which cannot be considered as forming any real part of its design. Neither of these tendencies is unparalleled elsewhere,³ but I am not aware of any other development of them nearly so extensive.

With regard to the tendency to extend the tracery lower in the window than usual, I need only remind you that, whenever the window-arch is of the simple-pointed form, the tracery should spring from a point level with the impost of the arch. Windows with square and other flat heads form a legitimate class of exceptions, but with the usual form any difference sufficient to catch the eye always produces awkwardness. As an instance, I may refer to the elaborate window in the small chapel attached to the south transept of Oxford Cathedral. This is a sort of half-measure, and is consequently unsuccessful; at Dorchester the same notion is more fully carried out with much better effect. For here each side of the east window is one expanse of tracery; the design for the head indeed commences at the usual point, but below that the mullions are crossed by two ranges of

³ For examples of the latter, I may mention the east windows of Barnack Church

and Merton Chapel.—*Essay on Tracery*, pp. 46, 47.

Reticulated figures, forming a magnificent species of transom. Within there is much rich sculpture, pinnacles, &c., not forming part of the design of the tracery.

In the Jesse window on the north side, the two tendencies run so much into one another that it is hard to distinguish them. The actual tracery is of a form common enough, an intersection incomplete at the top ; but besides the images with which the mullions and jambs are loaded, the branches thrown off between the mullions must be considered as something intermediate between real tracery and mere extraneous sculpture. The window is rich, and, from its unique character, extremely valuable ; still there is something of a confusion of ideas about it, which prevents its being altogether pleasing. Seen from without, it is still less so ; here the display of sculpture being not seen, the branches assume the character of mere tracery-bars, and, as such, are very unsatisfactory.

The south window is remarkable as being an early instance of Perpendicular tracery, for such, though there is no reason to consider it as of later date than the rest, it decidedly is in its main lines. The fondness for sculptured ornament comes out here nearly as conspicuously as in the other two, and the other tendency alluded to is at work also, though less busily. The tracery is of the Alternate kind, the basement-lights being of equal width with those beneath them. It may be considered to spring from the transom, as the mullions of the range above it are not a continuation of those below, but spring from the apices of the lights below, just like the basement lights. Consequently, while the lower part has four lights of the ordinary arrangements, the upper has three whole lights and half a light, so to speak, on each side.

The late form of the tracery in this window is an exception to the general character of this portion of the church. In its other details it more frequently reproduces forms earlier than from its date we should have expected. Thus the east window has distinct and banded jamb-shafts, very different from the mere bowtells in the south aisle of the nave, and its tracery, as well as that of the north window, is as much Geometrical as Flowing. Externally, too, in one of the buttresses we have that most singular phenomenon, a niche of the fourteenth century adorned with the chevron of the

twelfth. There can be no doubt whatever as to this being a mere individual freak ; but it shows the independent and eclectic animus of the architect.⁴

Another singularity is to be found in the four little windows at the back of the superb sedilia and piscina. These form externally a sort of rough arcade ; within, their form is a Flowing modification of the spherical triangle. It is well worthy of notice that the glass which they now contain—old glass of the twelfth century—has only been in them about twenty years, though it is so well adapted to its position that Mr. Addington seems to have supposed the peculiar form of the openings to have been specially accommodated to its reception.

It is to be noticed that these sedilia, though part of the same work as the rest of the presbytery, must have been an afterthought, inserted after the window was finished,⁵ as they cut through the string beneath it. Also this string is prolonged quite to the east end, so that the jamb-shafts of the east window can never have been added.⁶ The capitals and bands stand ready for them ; probably distinct Purbeck shafts—a late instance again—were contemplated, but never added.

I have now gone through the history of the whole building, except the timber porch on the south side, and the western tower. The former, as a mere Perpendicular addition, the only one in the church, sufficiently tells its own story : so that I need only call attention to it as a good specimen of its own date and material ; and remark that, as in several other instances, as the school-house at Higham Ferrers, its original low roof has been raised in plaster.

The tower appears to be chiefly a reconstruction of the seventeenth century, but portions both of Norman and Decorated work seem to have been preserved or

⁴ Professor Willis thinks that this is a case of old materials being worked up again. Still, as they are worked up in a position, and probably for a use, quite different from their original one, such a freak of preservation has no essential difference from a freak of imitation.

⁵ I have to thank Mr. Jewitt for a suggestion, that they may have been removed from some other position. It is not, however, easy to see what, in this case, could

have been their original position. I might mention that the sedilia now occupying an anomalous position in the north aisle of Dursley Church, Gloucestershire, have also apparently been moved.

⁶ Professor Willis doubts this, remarking a break in the string a little to the east, and considering that the eastern stone has been thrust out of its proper place.

worked up again. There is some extent of the former at the S. E. angle, against which the west front of the aisle is built up. The round-headed windows may possibly be the original ones built up again, but they cannot be in their original position, as the break in the masonry is visible enough. The octagonal turrets of alternate flint and stone-work are, if I mistake not, a localism, not indeed of the country about Oxford, but of a district more to the south; at least they occur again at Reading and Wallingford. Their effect would be good, except that they stop in a most awkward manner just below the battlement. The belfry windows are hideous, and the tower, on a near inspection, is altogether poor and clumsy; yet it is not without effect in a distant view; its low and massive proportions are by no means out of character with the general appearance of the church, and I am sure it would be very ill exchanged for a loftier and more elaborate specimen. It has always struck me as having somehow or other a very monastic air; from many points of view any one would suppose it to be central.

§ 3.—*Decay and Restoration of the Church.*

I will conclude my subject by a brief account of the disfigurements which the church has undergone in later times, and of the efforts recently made to restore it to its original beauty.

The church of Dorchester, as I before stated, was all along parochial as well as monastic, the nave belonging to the parish, the choir and its appurtenances to the abbey. This was also the case at Tewkesbury; in both cases doubtless the parochial portion alone would have been left standing, just as was the case some years later with the collegiate church at Fotheringhay, had not private munificence rescued the conventual portion from destruction. The choir, &c., of Dorchester Church was purchased for 140*l.*, by Richard Beauforest, of Dorchester, Gentleman, (a relation most probably of Abbot Richard Beauforest, who put stalls in the choir, where his brass remains) and by him bequeathed to the parish by his will, dated 1554, with the curious proviso "that the said parishioners shall not alter or alienate the said church, implements, or any part or parcel thereof without

the consent of my heirs and executors." I must leave to lawyers to decide the possibility of a future alienation of the choir of Dorchester Abbey; as to the prohibition of any alteration, I am afraid I shall soon have to show you that here at least the wills of founders have not been too superstitiously observed.

The condition of Dorchester Church is, even now, very deplorable, and it was still more so when the attention of the Oxford Architectural Society was first directed to it in 1844. It had shared the fate of almost every parochialised abbey church; its size at once exceeding the means of a poor agricultural parish to maintain, and being also much larger than was actually necessary for church accommodation, the result has been twofold. The whole building fell into a general state of decay, and the necessity, real or supposed, of blocking off only a part of so extensive a building for purposes of divine service, has led to those strange internal divisions and partitions, which at a first visit altogether baffle the inquirer in his endeavours to make out the original arrangements, singular enough, as we have seen, in themselves.

The part of the church now in use consists of the choir and aisles, and a small part of the nave, completely blocked off to the west and south from the remainder. And within the choir itself, its two eastern bays are again screened off to form a secondary chancel. The effect of these cross-purposes, till one gets thoroughly familiar with the building, is extremely puzzling.

But besides all this, some extreme cases of barbarism had taken place at Dorchester. These chiefly concerned the roofs. In the south aisle of the nave a most unaccountable freak had been practised; the single high-pitched roof had been in 1633 exchanged for one with a double ridge, which, while singularly ugly, is, I should imagine, weaker than the usual form; it could not have been any saving in actual quantity of materials, though it may possibly have allowed the old ones to be more extensively employed in the reconstruction. This seems also to have been the cause of the blocking of the west window. The original gable, which must have existed between the nave and choir aisles, was also lowered, as may be clearly seen inside. Then, throughout the choir and its south aisle, and through nearly the whole extent of the nave, the roofs had been completely lowered,

leaving only a small piece at the west end of the nave, which still remains, and has a very odd effect. The two eastern gables had been destroyed with the roofs ; this, in the south aisle, had involved the destruction of nearly everything above the contemplated vaulting ; while in the choir the loss was still more serious, the upper part of the great east window being completely destroyed. These were the chief portions which called for repair, besides numerous smaller mutilations in every part of the building.

In the autumn of 1844 an estimate was first made of the cost of the several portions requiring restoration, and in the spring of 1845 the energies of the Society began to be practically directed to its accomplishment. Some delays were met with on account of the extraordinary circumstances of the parish. The church was formerly a peculiar and impropriation in private hands, but the tithes had been sold and dispersed among a great number of individuals, so that there was no one responsible Lay Rector, and in any case, considering the curious tenure by which the choir is held, it might be very doubtful on whom the repairs would legally fall. Besides this, the parish was then a sort of ecclesiastical oasis, it had no Ordinary whatever ; since the sale of the property the impropriation had been divided, but the jurisdiction had completely vanished ; no Official of the Peculiar had been appointed for years, so that it was very doubtful whether there were any legal churchwardens. In these circumstances, it was by no means clear to whom to apply for the necessary permission to commence the work. However, the Perpetual Curate and the acting Churchwardens entered zealously into the scheme ; and the gentleman who was supposed, if any one, to be chargeable to the repairs of the chancel, gave every facility in his power, which, in one not a member of the Church of England, deserves to be recorded to his great honour. Consequently no practical difficulty was found. A subscription was accordingly opened, collections were made in the parish of an amount most creditable to one so poor, and immediately after the long vacation, the most necessary portion of the work, the repair of the sedilia and piscina and south window of the presbytery, was commenced. These were completed in March, 1846. The principle pursued throughout has been strictly conservative, a diligent repair of what remained, and careful

adaptation of what was necessarily new. In this first portion of the restoration, the only absolutely new work required were four finials and four small statues, to have entirely omitted which would have left the sedilia very imperfect.

This much being effected, the efforts of the Society were directed to the restoration of the remainder of the presbytery. This, as involving a new roof, and the completion of the mutilated east window, was a very serious undertaking. Little doubt could be entertained but that the design for the east window originally made, and of which an engraving is given in Mr. Addington's work, contained a centre-piece far too elaborate for the remarkably bold work of the tracery below. A question had also been raised by a writer in the *Ecclesiologist*, whether the centre-piece had ever been filled with tracery at all. The Society then called in Mr. Harrison as architect, who, when in Oxford, had been one of its most active members; he at once discovered fragments showing that the circle had contained tracery, and indeed enough to ascertain its general character, and some even of its actual lines. But a fresh difficulty was presented by the extreme liberality of Mr. Harrison, who, while willing to give the work all the benefit of his skill, positively refused to act in any but a gratuitous capacity. As the Society could not possibly accept of his services on those terms, this most important portion of the restoration was finally placed in the hands of Mr. Butterfield. The design which was the result of his investigations, was not quite identical with Mr. Harrison's, though both preserved the same appropriate character of great width and boldness in the piercings. In one respect Mr. Butterfield's completion of the window appears to me open to very great doubt and criticism; he has made the circle not complete, but flowing into the lines of the arch. I do not remember that the remaining fragments gave any grounds for supposing that so unusual and unpleasing an arrangement, one in this window peculiarly inappropriate, formed part of the original design. I strongly opposed this freak—for it is nothing more—at the time; but I believe I may truly say that it is the only part of our restoration liable to any serious objection.

While these negotiations were pending, the restoration of a smaller portion was actually effected. This was the Jesse window, which was a mere case of repair, involving no

original work. Indeed two places where the design was irrecoverably lost, and no more could be done than guess at the subjects, have been left in their mutilated state. These appear to have represented the Blessed Virgin and the Crucifixion ; but as there was some difficulty in obtaining an appropriate design, they have, I believe, without any formal intention, been left in their former state to this day. Perhaps it may be thought that, as their destruction was clearly the result of a formal purpose, and not of mere decay or negligence, it forms a portion of the history of the fabric, and, as such, ought not to be repaired.

The east window was commenced about May 1846, the stone and timber work was completed by June, 1847, and the glazing of the window, and the necessary fittings of the presbytery were accomplished during the course of the same year. The work of restoration, like the original work of erection, has been very slowly carried on, chiefly owing to the very small amount of funds at our disposal ; for as subscriptions continued to drop in, though slowly, it was thought better, on many grounds, to keep something going on, than to stop and recommence. But I am sorry to say that for more than⁷ two years nothing has been done at all ; the small amount raised has been quite exhausted by the restoration of the sedilia and windows, and the erection of the portion of roof rendered necessary by the opening the head of the east window. About twenty feet of the eastern part has been raised to its original pitch, and this, on account of the great size of the timbers required, has been the most costly portion of the undertaking. Yet the roof is a very simple one, a mere pointed cradle-roof, and, from want of funds, we were most reluctantly compelled to have it plastered between the rafters, and to employ slates—Stonesfield slates however—instead of lead as the external covering. This roof, however, plain as it is, is one capable of admitting any amount of future enrichment in the way of panelling.

I shall not be surprised if I am asked why, while we were able to accomplish only such a small part of the necessary repairs of the building, a large sum was spent on the luxury of modern stained glass for the head of the east window. I believe I may safely say that no part of the general

⁷ From June, 1850.

restoration fund would ever have been devoted to such an ὕστερον πρότερον kind of proceeding. The little we had at our disposal was all expended on substantial restoration. But as this glass was an individual gift, we could not too narrowly investigate whether the discretion of the donors had been equal to their liberality.

Five years ago I certainly expected more to have been done for Dorchester church than has been done up to this time. The exertions made on the spot are beyond all praise ; but the interest taken in the subject by the University and county at large has been far less than might have been reasonably looked for, when we consider the architectural splendour of the building, its historical associations, its peculiarly unfortunate and helpless state at the present day. Yet we have done something ; it is not a small matter to have restored that wonderful and unique east window to its original proportions, a change the extent of which can only be appreciated by those who have seen it in its former state of mutilation. And I think we may fairly say that what we have done we have done well ; the execution everywhere reflects the greatest credit on the several contractors, and shows that in mere workmanship at least we are in nowise behind our ancestors. Still it would have been more gratifying could I have concluded the architectural history of Dorchester otherwise than by stating that the work of repair has as yet been extended hardly more than twenty feet from the east wall, and that the north aisle of the choir still remains in a state which I believe is positively dangerous.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

INTERIOR DIMENSIONS.

	ft.	in.	ft.	in.
Length of Choir and Presbytery			100	0
Breadth	23	5		
Length of Nave			87	3
<i>North Aisle of Choir.</i>				
Length	83	4		
Width at East end	12	1		
Width at West end	10	5		
<i>South Aisle of Choir.</i>				
Length	82	0		
Width at East end	27	8		
Width at West end	25	5		
<i>South Aisle of Nave.</i>				
Length	81	2		
Width	24	10		
Tower (square inside)			21	10
Total Length			209	1

P.S. I have great pleasure in adding to my account of Dorchester the following letter from Mr. Jewitt. The theory it contains had not occurred or been mentioned to me when I last visited Dorchester ; but, speaking from memory, I should say that, while Mr. Jewitt's view of the use of the eastern portion of the aisle and of the chamber which must have existed over it, is extremely probable, I do not think it proves that this chapel ever existed in a complete state before the aisle was added. The east end is certainly of earlier character than the rest, but this is just the same phenomenon which we have seen in the north aisle, and does not seem to me to prove more than that it was actually built first, not that it formed part of quite another design. Such an addition to the choir as Mr. Jewitt imagines, would surely be very anomalous.

“HEADINGTON, OXFORD,
March 31, 1852.

“DEAR SIR,

“My idea of the south aisle of Dorchester Church is, that the eastern portion, as far as where the vaulting shafts extend internally, is of an earlier date than the rest of the choir aisle, and of the same date as the south-west angle of the nave aisle, both being but little later than the north aisle. I write only from memory, but will, as briefly as possible, give you my reasons for thinking so.

“The windows at the east end of this aisle have Geometrical tracery (though of rather later character than that of the north aisle windows), while those on the south side have Intersecting tracery. The angle stair-turret with its internal doorway, and the piscina, are of the same date, as are also the vaulting shafts, and the wall as far as the first buttress shown on the plan. This will be further proved by observing the different thickness of the wall in this part, and that this difference is exactly co-extensive with the remains of groining in the interior. There is likewise on this part a buttress which, though it ranges in its upper part exactly with the rest, does not, like the rest, reach the ground, and consequently does not appear in the plan.

“All these reasons induce me to think that this portion of the present aisle was either built, or *intended* to be built, as a chapel ; that it had its east end terminating in a gable, as the two square-headed windows above the others clearly point out ; that the chapel itself was groined ; and that the staircase led to an upper room which was appropriated to the officiating priest, and which the two square windows above-mentioned were intended to light. This was a not unusual arrangement, and the situation of the doorway between the altar and the piscina, seems to favour the idea of this being the use of the room.

“I imagine that this design was afterwards abandoned or altered, and the chapel thrown into part of a new aisle, and in order to give an uniformity to it, the turret buttresses were copied, and one of the new

windows (which have Intersecting tracery) inserted in the chapel, where probably a Geometrical window had formerly existed.

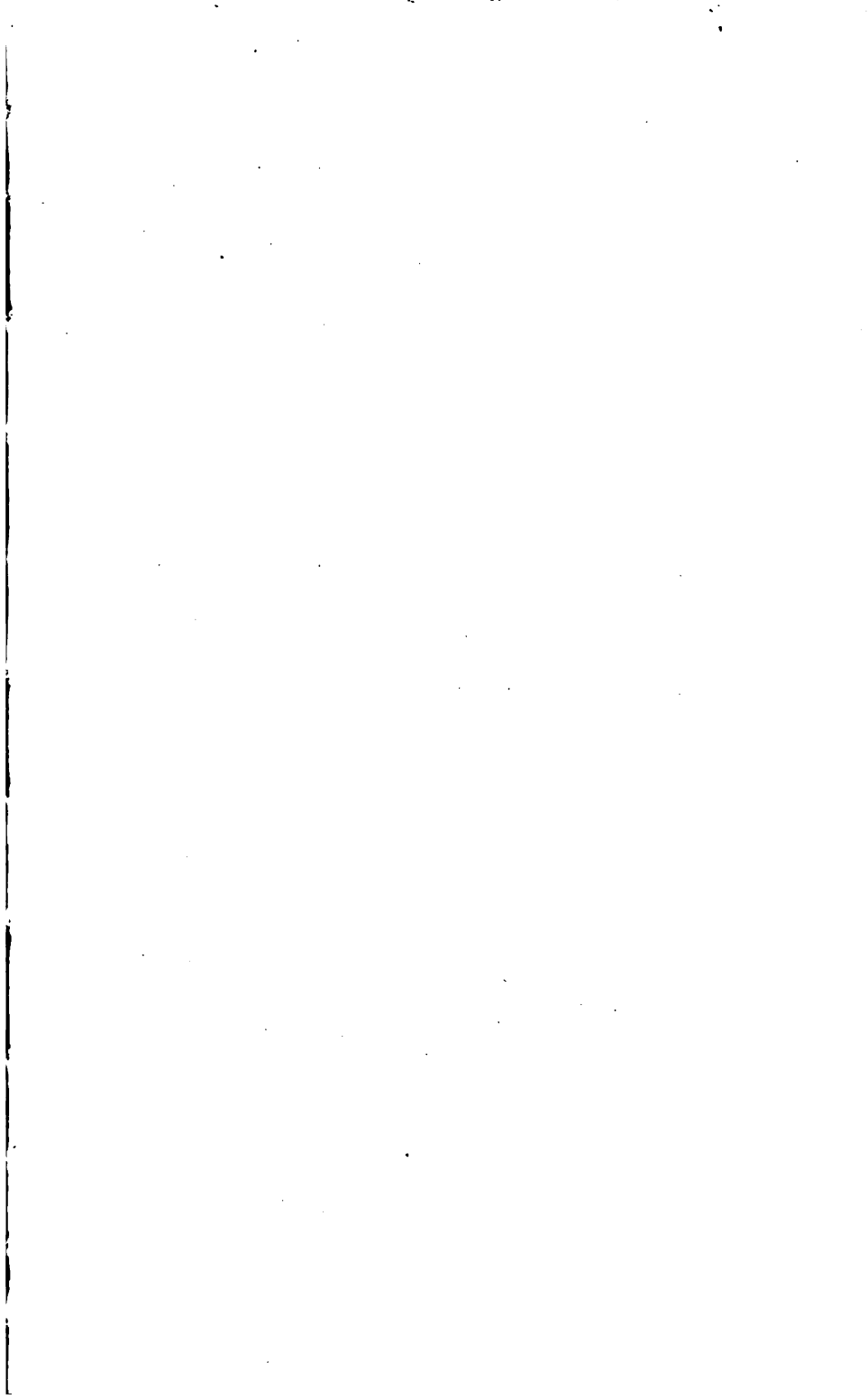
"The beautiful buttress at the S. W. angle of the nave aisle, seems to have been begun at the same time as the chapel, though the nave aisle was not built until after the choir aisle was completed.

"I have written the above hasty remarks at your request, but merely intend them as suggestions for your consideration.

" I remain, Sir, yours sincerely,

"O. JEWITT.

"E. A. FREEMAN, Esq."





AUG 25 1961

